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## GIOTTO

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ALL THE PAINTINGS OF

**GIOTTO**

Part 2

*VOLUME NINETEEN*

*in the*

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# ALL THE PAINTINGS OF GIOTTO

## Part 2

*Text by* ROBERTO SALVINI

*Translated by* PAUL COLACICCHI

OLDBOURNE

*London*

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# GIOTTO'S PAINTINGS

## THE FRESCOES

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THE LAST JUDGMENT. Detail of the upper left: Angels and Apostles.



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THE LAST JUDGMENT. Detail: Christ the Judge.

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THE LAST JUDGMENT. Detail: the Elect. (See also plates 159–160.)

Plate 159

THE LAST JUDGMENT. Detail: the Elect.

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THE LAST JUDGMENT. Detail from plate 158: this head is traditionally believed to be a self-portrait by Giotto.

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ENVY, DESPAIR, WRATH.

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INJUSTICE, INCONSTANCY, FOLLY.

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MEDALLIONS OF THE THREE PROPHETS AND ST JOHN THE BAPTIST. These are four smaller medallions surrounding that of *Christ*. (See plate 172.)

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MEDALLIONS OF MALACHI, BARUCH, ISAIAH AND DANIEL. Four smaller medallions surrounding that of the *Virgin and Child*.

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ORNAMENTAL PARTITIONS. In this and the following two plates some details of the bands separating and framing each of the cycle's frescoes are reproduced. *Moses and the Miracle of the Spring* runs parallel to *The Marriage at Cana*; the *Creation of Adam* runs parallel to *The Raising of Lazarus*; *St Michael Fighting Satan* is parallel to *Christ Expels the Money-Lenders*.

Plate 177

ORNAMENTAL PARTITIONS. On the left, perhaps, St Matthew and St Gregory; on the right, St Luke and St Ambrose.

Plate 178

ORNAMENTAL PARTITIONS. Female figures of Saints.



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Plate 179

ANGELS. *Mosaics, diameter of each approximately 65. Boville Ernica (a town South of Rome) and Rome, Museo Petriano.* It is now established that both these fragments are part of the original *Navicella* mosaic by Giotto in the portico of St Peter's (see Lost Paintings, page 85), representing St Peter sailing in a storm and prevented from sinking by the Savior. The two angels reproduced on this plate were probably on the two sides of an inscription under the *Navicella*. The date of this work, executed at least from a drawing by Giotto if not under his direct instructions, is difficult to establish from the copies which are left of it. Rather than the year of Jubilee—1300—it would appear executed later, perhaps in 1310 or even 1320, for since the recovery of part of the Lateran fresco (plate 78), painted in 1300, one can no longer accept these angels as belonging to the same period.

We are inclined to favor the year 1310, suggested by Paeseler. Documents of 1313 (see Biographical Notes) prove that Giotto had been in Rome some time before; furthermore, this was the period when the Popes were exiled in Avignon and the Basilica had been left in the care of Cardinal Stefaneschi, who commissioned this work. The Boville angel was first published by E. Stevenson (1887) and later, together with the Roman one, by Muñoz (1911 and 1925).

Plate 180

CRUCIFIX. *Panel, 430 × 303. Rimini, Tempio Malatestiano.* First mentioned in Tonini's Guide of Rimini in 1864. Assigned to a pupil of Giotto by Crowe and Cavalcaselle in 1883 and later to the schools of Romagna or Rimini by Brach (1902), Van Marle (1924) and Ricci (1925). Toesca, in 1929, pronounced it very close to Giotto and Salmi, in 1931, described it as "the first and noblest example of the Rimini Crucifixes." Longhi, but not in writing, declared it an autograph work by Giotto immediately after it was cleaned in 1934, a short time before the Rimini Exhibition of 1935. On this occasion and during the Giotto Exhibition of 1937 the *Crucifix* gave rise to considerable enthusiasm: though Brandi insisted on its Rimini origins, dating it 1310 to 1315, Coletti, Gamba, Bertini-Calosso and Mariani attributed it to Giotto in 1937, while Van Marle, Salmi, Beenken and Suida, though acknowledging the master's influence, were in favor of a pupil from Rimini. Later still Lavagnino and Oertel supported this last theory, and Berenson and Cecchi thought the pupil was from Florence, not Rimini. More recently Longhi (1948) confirmed his former view in writing and pronounced the *Crucifix* "a masterpiece by Giotto of about 1310," ranking it with the Strasbourg and Berlin *Crucifixions* (see Paintings Attributed to Giotto). Toesca in 1951 opposed Longhi's verdict in favor of "an immediate follower from Florence though possessing certain elements of the Rimini school." From 1957 to now, Zeri, Gnudi and Battisti have accepted the attribution to Giotto.

Notwithstanding the extreme delicacy of the chiaroscuro and other peculiarities of style separating this *Crucifix* from that of Santa Maria Novella (plate 20), from the Arena Chapel *Crucifixion* (plate 141) and in general from Giotto's works, and pointing in the direction of Rimini (a solution which, indeed, we accepted in the first edition of this volume), two arguments have now led us to reconsider our opinion and



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to believe that Giotto painted this work. In the first place, no particular work of the Rimini School shows a direct similarity to the *Crucifix*; secondly, if this work were then to be considered the first of a line of Riminese crosses, than it can also be seen to head the list of a series of Florentine crosses by Giotto, such as the San Felice, the San Marco and the Ognissanti *Crucifixes*, especially the last two (see Paintings Attributed to Giotto). They were all produced by the master's Florence workshop and appear typologically derived—particularly in the facial features—from the Malatestiano rather than the Arena Chapel *Crucifix*.

We believe, with Gnudi, that this work was painted not in Rimini but in Padua, about 1317, that is, more or less at the same time as the Arena Chapel *Crucifixion*.

Plate 181

THE REDEEMER. *Panel, 81 × 86. Formerly in London, Jekyll Collection.* Published as a Giotto autograph by R. Fry and Brockwell (*Grafton Galleries* 1911, No. 3); later, Fry confirmed the attribution and suggested that the panel was painted during Giotto's stay in Padua. Suida (1914) assigned it to the master of *The Stefaneschi Triptych* (plates 250–253), supported by Toesca (1951). Zeri (1957) saw it in the *cimasa* (finial) of the Rimini *Crucifix* (plate 180). Even this old photograph shows the painting to be superior in quality to the Arena Chapel *Crucifix* (plate 182) which was modeled upon it, and to the head of the enthroned Christ in *The Stefaneschi Triptych*, with which it has, however, some points of contact. For these reasons it may be considered an entirely autograph work.

Plate 182

CRUCIFIX. *On wood, 223 × 164. Padua, Arena Chapel.* Originally mounted, it is believed, on the screen separating the sanctuary from the main body of the chapel. There is no old reference to this work which was first attributed to Giotto by Crowe and Cavalcaselle in 1864. Most critics accept, totally or in part, this attribution, though Rintelen thought it a pupil's copy of the chapel's *Crucifixion* (plate 141). Doubts have been expressed also by Beenken, Vitzthum and Suida, while Weigelt and Brandi are definitely against Giotto's authorship. Generally dated at the time of the chapel's frescoes, though Longhi suggested that it might have been painted later and by more than one artist.

This work is certainly rich in lyrical quality because of its delicate plasticity and the feeling of repose and accepted sorrow emanating from it. We would date it, with Gnudi, 1317; that is, when Scrovegni pledged himself to provide for religious practice in the chapel. The *Crucifix*, however, is not entirely autograph, as it is derived stylistically from its Rimini counterpart and from the Crucifixion fresco reproduced on plate 141. (See also plates 183–184.)

Plate 183

CRUCIFIX. *Padua, Arena Chapel.* Detail: the head and bust of Christ.

Plate 184

CRUCIFIX. *Padua, Arena Chapel.* Detail: right arm of the cross: St John.

Plate 185

MADONNA AND CHILD IN GLORY (THE OGNISSANTI MADONNA), *Panel, 325 × 204. Florence, Uffizi Gallery.* The oldest mention of this panel as a work by Giotto in the Church of All Saints (where it stayed until 1810, when it was moved to the Galleria dell'Accademia and hence,



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in 1919, to the Uffizi) is in a document of 1418 concerning the altar which it surmounted (the last one on the right). Other sources, including Ghiberti, have also recorded the altarpiece. It is universally acknowledged as an autograph work and most critics believe that it was painted a short time before the Padua frescoes. We, however, support A. Venturi, Rintelen, Weigelt, Volbach, Kauffmann, Offner, Brandi, Gnudi and Battisti who think that the master painted it as late as 1310. Here, in fact, there is no evidence of that harshness of light and tension of contour which were Cimabue's heritage and are still visible in Assisi; on the other hand the "plastic continuity," as Brandi calls it, peculiar to the lower course of the Scrovegni frescoes, is emphasized in this panel. (See also plates 186–189 and color plate VI.)

Plate 186

MADONNA AND CHILD IN GLORY. Detail: head of the Virgin.

Plate 187

MADONNA AND CHILD IN GLORY. Detail: head of the Child.

Plate 188

MADONNA AND CHILD IN GLORY. Detail: kneeling angel on left of throne.

Plate 189

MADONNA AND CHILD IN GLORY. Detail: standing angel on right of throne.

## THE SANTA CROCE FRESCOES

(Plates 190–217)

Ghiberti recalls that in Santa Croce Giotto painted four chapels: these were later specified by authors of the sixteenth century (the *Libro* of Antonio Billi, the Anonimo Gaddiano and Vasari) as the private chapels of the families Giugni, Tosinghi-Spinelli, Bardi and Peruzzi; all the frescoes in the first two chapels were destroyed, except the *Assumption* on the front of the Tosinghi-Spinelli Chapel, which, however, is not attributed to Giotto, a fact that raises doubts about the damaged inner frescoes.

The Bardi and Peruzzi frescoes are unanimously ascribed to Giotto with the exception of Oertel who, for reasons of style, assigns the Bardi decorations to a distinguished follower, such as Maso di Banco or the Master of Figline, who probably painted the Tosinghi-Spinelli Chapel.

Restorations carried out in the last century had profoundly altered the original paintings, but in 1937 the fresco of *St Francis Receiving the Stigmata* (plate 215), on the front of the Bardi Chapel, was brought to light almost in its entirety. This, and experiments carried out upon the chapel's inner frescoes, encouraged the experts to believe that they could be thoroughly cleaned, as indeed they were in 1958–59 by Lionello Tintori under the supervision of Ugo Procacci. In spite of gaps in the composition the uppermost layer of paint has been preserved. Though the full facts about this operation cannot be known until Procacci's report is published, the Soprintendenza of Florence has graciously authorized the reproduction in this book of the photographs of the frescoes as they now appear. The same optimism cannot, unfortunately, be felt in the case of the Peruzzi Chapel, for those frescoes were deeply scratched during the restoration of 1849 and—though the composition has largely survived—the figures are reduced to little more than ground painting.



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Tintori, however, is at present engaged in cleaning them and some interesting, if not brilliant, results may yet be forthcoming.

We lack the necessary elements to establish with accuracy the date of the frescoes in the two chapels, and it is also difficult to deduce what, if any, interval of years separates the the two sets of decorations. So far as the Bardi Chapel is concerned we have one fact, the year 1317, when the canonization of St Ludovic of Toulouse took place, who figures among the frescoes in the *Chapel's* lower registers. But this can only be a term *post quem* and we may have to move forward from it, perhaps as far as 1325 (Gnudi, 1959).

The reason is that many Giottesque works datable about 1330 and Masaccio's fragments in Naples—where Maso went with his master in 1339—seem to derive from the Bardi Chapel. Peter, on the other hand, in *Burlington Magazine*, 1940, dates it before the Peruzzi and thinks that both chapels were decorated before 1324 when, in his opinion, Ambrogio Lorenzetti began to paint his Siena frescoes which reveal the influence of this particular phase of Giotto.

Now, after Tintori's cleaning, it is easy to establish which of Giotto's frescoes in the Bardi Chapel are totally autograph and which are not. *St Francis Receiving the Stigmata*, *The Ordeal by Fire* and *The Death of St Francis* (plates 215, 200 and 208) are considered entirely by the master's hand, though Battisti has doubts about the friar standing beside the Saint's body watching his soul ascend to Heaven (plate 209). The composition of *The Apparition at Arles* (plate 204) is largely autograph and slightly less so are the two *Apparitions* on plate 212. *St Francis Renouncing the World* (plate 196) is almost entirely the work of assistants, which is also the case of *The Sanctioning of the Rule* (plate 198). Among the figures of Saints only *St Clare* (plate 216) is an autograph, whereas *St Ludovic of Toulouse* (plate 217) is visibly much weaker.

The question of which chapel was painted first is a controversial one but, considering that Giotto's departure from the Padua style towards calmer forms is more marked in the Bardi Chapel than in the Peruzzi, it is reasonable to assume that the Peruzzi frescoes came first.

The supporters of the opposite theory claim that as the Bardi frescoes were imitated by the Giottesque School and the Peruzzi ones by the Renaissance masters, especially Masaccio and Michelangelo, priority should go to the Bardi paintings. This argument, in our opinion, would seem to operate both ways, for while it is natural for Giotto's pupils to have followed their master's style in its most advanced form it is equally reasonable for the Renaissance painters to have felt free to choose whichever phase of Giotto's work appealed to them most. Furthermore, while in the Peruzzi Chapel a few feeble elements still recall the Padua frescoes, nothing of the sort happens in the Bardi cycle.

Each episode illustrated in the two chapels is approximately 280 × 450. *St Clare* and the other Saints in the Bardi Chapel are approximately 230 × 70 each, inclusive of the tabernacles. The *Stigmata* fresco on the Bardi Chapel's front is approximately 390 × 370 inclusive of its frame.

## THE PERUZZI CHAPEL

Plate 190

THE ANNUNCIATION TO ZACHARIAS. This is the first "Story of the



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two St Johns"—the Evangelist and the Baptist—painted on the walls of the chapel. Zacharias, husband of Elizabeth, is seen waving a censer on the steps of an altar when an angel appears under the porch and tells him that his wife shall give birth to the future St John the Baptist.

Plate 191

THE BIRTH OF ST JOHN THE BAPTIST. A partition separates two scenes: on the right Elizabeth is lying on her bed assisted by two maids; on the right Zacharias writes the child's name in a tablet on his knees as the infant is held before him by a male and a female figure.

Plate 192

THE DANCE OF SALOME. Here, too, there are two moments in the composition: on the left Salome is dancing in front of Herod and two guests, and on the right she kneels with the Saint's head on a plate before Herod.

Plate 193

THE VISION ON PATMOS. The Evangelist, relegated to the isle of Patmos, where he had the vision of the Apocalypse, sees in a dream "the Son of Man holding a scythe, the angel calling on time to reap, the travailing woman pursued by a dragon, the mystic child in its cradle, the angel and the four beasts" (Crowe and Cavalcaselle).

Color Plate VII

THE ASCENSION OF ST JOHN THE EVANGELIST. Detail of plate 195.

Plate 194

THE RAISING OF DRUSIANA. Tradition has it that on his way back from Ephesus St John met the funeral procession of Drusiana who, having always observed his precepts, had died before his return. At the Saint's command Drusiana has risen from the bier.

Plate 195

THE ASCENSION OF ST JOHN THE EVANGELIST. After a vision in which Jesus had warned him of his impending death, the aged John called for a grave to be dug and in the sight of the people of Ephesus stepped down into it. Whereupon a great light shone down upon him from the sky, and he disappeared. (See also color plate VII.)

## THE BARDI CHAPEL

Plate 196

ST FRANCIS RENOUNCING THE WORLD. This is the same episode from the life of St Francis explained in the comment to plate 32. (See also plate 197.)

Plate 197

ST FRANCIS RENOUNCING THE WORLD. Detail: figures on the right.

Plate 198

THE SANCTIONING OF THE RULE. See comment to plate 38 and examine plate 199.

Plate 199

THE SANCTIONING OF THE RULE. Detail: figures on the right.

Plate 200

THE ORDEAL BY FIRE. See comment to plate 47 and examine plates 201–203.

Plate 201

THE ORDEAL BY FIRE. Detail: figures on the left.

Plate 202

THE ORDEAL BY FIRE. Detail: the Soldan of Babylon.

Plate 203

THE ORDEAL BY FIRE. Detail: St Francis and a friar.



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Plate 204

THE APPARITION AT ARLES. See comment to plate 62 and plates 205–207.

Plate 205

THE APPARITION AT ARLES. Detail: friars on the right.

Plate 206

THE APPARITION AT ARLES. Detail: St Anthony and friars.

Plate 207

THE APPARITION AT ARLES. Detail: St Francis.

Plate 208

THE DEATH OF ST FRANCIS. At the top of the picture, in the center, the Saint's soul is carried to Heaven by a group of angels. (See also plates 209–211.)

Plate 209

THE DEATH OF ST FRANCIS. Detail: the center.

Color Plate VIII

ST STEPHEN. Detail of plate 222.

Plate 210

THE DEATH OF ST FRANCIS. Detail: figures on the left.

Plate 211

THE DEATH OF ST FRANCIS. Detail: figures on the right.

Plate 212

THE APPARITIONS TO THE BISHOP AND TO FRIAR AUGUSTINE. See comment to plate 68 and examine plates 213–214.

Plate 213

THE APPARITIONS TO THE BISHOP AND TO FRIAR AUGUSTINE. Detail: sleeping figures on the right.

Plate 214

THE APPARITIONS TO THE BISHOP AND TO FRIAR AUGUSTINE. Detail: friar on the left.

Plate 215

ST FRANCIS RECEIVING THE STIGMATA. See comment to plate 63.

Plate 216

ST CLARE. Of the four frescoes of Saints upon the window-wall of the chapel, only in this and in *St Ludovic of Toulouse* (plate 217) can the original quality be appreciated; that of *St Clare* is by far the finest.

Plate 217

ST LUDOVIC OF TOULOUSE. See comment on previous plate.

Plate 218

THE DEATH OF THE VIRGIN. *Panel, 75 × 178. Berlin, Staatliches Museen.* Ghiberti and other ancient sources mention "a frescoed chapel" in the Church of Ognissanti in Florence, and also "a large crucifix (see Paintings Attributed to Giotto) and "four alterpieces," one of which portrayed the *Madonna and Child in Glory* (plate 185) and the other "the death of Our Lady, with twelve Apostles and Our Lord." This painting was removed from the church between 1550 and 1568. It most probably reappeared in Cardinal Fesch's Collection before 1841 whence, having passed through the Davenport Bromley and the Langton Douglas Collections, it went to the then Kaiser Friedrich Museum (Staatliches Museen) in 1913. Modern critics attribute it alternatively to Giotto, to his workshop or to an anonymous Giottesque (Brandi, 1939). The present tendency (Longhi, Toesca and Gnudi) is to accept Giotto's authorship. Dates vary from 1315 to 1325. The surface has suffered, especially on the left side, while the center has been repainted, but generally speaking the fresco is in good condition. The beauty of its autograph parts, and the evidence of a lesser craftsmanship



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here and there—not always due to repaints—lead to the conclusion that Giotto painted the fresco with the assistance of others, probably at the time of the Peruzzi decorations, that is, presumably about 1320. (See also plates 219–221.)

Plate 219

THE DEATH OF THE VIRGIN. Detail: the center.

Plate 220

THE DEATH OF THE VIRGIN. Detail: angels and Saints on the left.

Plate 221

THE DEATH OF THE VIRGIN. Detail: Jesus holding the Virgin's soul.

Plate 222

ST STEPHEN. *Panel, 84 × 54. Florence, Horne Museum.* Universally acknowledged as one of the four panels of a polyptych now divided between Florence, Châalis and Washington (the other three are reproduced on plates 223–225). The link between this fresco and the Washington *Madonna and Child* (plate 223) was claimed by Offner and Mather in 1924 and 1925; Longhi connected these panels with the two *Saints* of Châalis—unknown up to then—in 1925 (plates 224–225). There is no unanimity, however, in attributing this work to Giotto. The name of Bernardo Daddi was submitted by Valentiner and Constable; Siren, Supino and Hendy suggested Taddeo Gaddi; Berenson and Toesca proposed an anonymous Giottesque and Weigelt, Beenken and Brandi, though attributing it to no one, firmly contested the authorship of Giotto. But the majority of critics (Perkins, Bates, Van Marle, Suida, Mather, Longhi, L. Venturi, Serra, Cecchi, Salmi, Bertini, Calosso, Offner, Coletti, Gnudi, Battisti and others), though conceding some measure of workshop assistance, are agreed on Giotto. One should also point out that while the *St Stephen* is in an almost perfect condition the two *Saints* of Châalis and the *Madonna* have been considerably altered by restorers. But even allowing for these alterations the only autograph panels would appear to be *St Stephen*, *St John* and a good part of the *Madonna*. With the exception of Toesca, who dates these frescoes near to the Scrovegni ones, the polyptych is acknowledged by all as a work of Giotto's late years: 1315, 1320, 1325(?). It is impossible to say, as there is no hard information about the Santa Croce frescoes. Probably, however, between the Peruzzi and Bardi Chapels. (See also color plate VIII.)

Plate 223

MADONNA AND CHILD. *Panel, 86.4 × 63.5. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art.* See comment on plate 222.

Plate 224

ST JOHN THE EVANGELIST. *Panel, 81 × 55. Châalis, Musée Jacquemart-André.* See comment on plate 222.

Plate 225

ST LAWRENCE. *Panel, 81 × 55. Châalis, Musée Jacquemart-André.* See comment on plate 222.



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# LOST PAINTINGS

(*Only paintings which have been authoritatively attributed to Giotto are listed below.*)

CRUCIFIX. *Wood. Hermitage of Camaldoli.* Recorded by Vasari in the second edition of his *Lives* (1568) as a signed work by Giotto.

THE STOLEN COMUNE. *Fresco. Florence, Palazzo del Podesta.* The attribution is by Ghiberti and the fresco is described by Vasari.

MADONNA BETWEEN TWO SAINTS, above the portal, and other frescoes in the main chapel of the Badia at Florence. The attribution is by Ghiberti. Among the chapel's frescoes Vasari describes an *Annunciation*, a fragment of which has recently been discovered and detached. Procacci is about to publish it.

MARTYRDOM OF THE APOSTLES. *Frescoes. Florence, Church of Santa Croce, Giugni Chapel.* Ghiberti attributed the works to Giotto and Vasari explained the subjects.

STORIES OF THE VIRGIN. *Frescoes. Florence, Church of Santa Croce, Tosinghi-Spinelli Chapel.* The attribution is by Ghiberti and Vasari explained the subjects, which are: *Birth of the Virgin*, *Marriage of the Virgin*, *Annunciation*, *Adoration of the Magi*, *Presentation in the Temple*, and *The Death of the Virgin*.

CRUCIFIX. *Wood. Florence, Church of San Giorgio alla Costa.* Attributed to Giotto by Ghiberti and by the Anonimo Gaddiano.

VANAGLORIA (WORLDLY GLORY). *Frescoes. Milan, Palace of Azzone Visconti.* Giovanni Villani (*c.* 1340) claims that Giotto "worked for the Lord of Milan" about 1335. In 1771 Giulini mentions the frescoes—which had already been destroyed—in a hall of Azzone's palace. These included a *Vana gloria* "and around it the most illustrious ancient Princes in the world." The supposition that Giotto painted them is accepted by Supino (1920), who believes that Ghiberti, in his vague mention of a "Worldly Glory," the location of which he did not indicate, was referring to these frescoes.

FAMOUS MEN. *Frescoes. Naples, Castelnuovo.* Petrarch recalls a *capellam regis* by Giotto in that city, and Ghiberti mentions "King Hubert's hall of famous men." The Naples archives prove in fact that the master was there from 1329 to 1333 and that he worked for Robert of Anjou.

FRESCOES. *Naples, Castel dell'Uovo.* It has been surmised that Ghiberti, to whom the attribution is due,



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confused Castelnuovo with Castel dell'Uovo and mentioned the same frescoes twice over, but his indications are actually separate and clear enough. Much more doubtful are the Anonimo Gaddiano and Vasari's attribution to Giotto of other frescoes in the Neapolitan churches of the Incoronata and Santa Chiara.

that after the Scrovegni Chapel frescoes Giotto decorated the immense hall of the Palazzo della Ragione in Padua with the largest set of paintings on astrological themes which had ever been seen and which long remained the iconographical prototype of such works."

ASTROLOGICAL THEMES. *Frescoes. Padua, Palazzo della Ragione.* The Chronicle of Padua, written by Giovanni da Nono between 1320 and 1330, mentions: *Duodecim coelestia signa et septem Planetae cum suis proprietatibus in hac cohopertura* (in the vaulting) *fulgebant a Zotho summo pictorum mirifice elaborata et alia sidera aurea cum speculis et aliae figurationes similiter fulgebant interius.* Recently Battisti wrote: "Let us not forget

FRESCOES IN A CHAPEL. *Ravenna, Church of San Giovanni Evangelista.* The attribution is by Vasari and it has been accepted by Ricci.

FRESCOES. *Rimini, Church of San Francesco.* The attribution is by Giotto's contemporary, Riccobaldo Ferrarese, who wrote in 1312–13, and who places Giotto's Franciscan works in the following order: Assisi,



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Rimini, Padua. The church disappeared when the Tempio Malatestiano was rebuilt on its foundations. The paintings are therefore lost.

NAVICELLA. *Mosaic. Rome, St Peter's.* The reproduction shown on page 84 is from the reconstructions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. See also the comment on plate 179 about the *Angels* of Boville Ernica.

FIVE STORIES FROM THE LIFE OF CHRIST. *Frescoes. Rome, St Peter's.* Early sources mention a cycle of five large-scale frescoes in the apse of St Peter's, described by Vasari as "Five Stories from the Life of Christ."

A fragment kept in the Fiumi Collection at Assisi was published by L. Venturi who, however, attributed it to a pupil of Giotto. Battisti, who has recently paid attention to the fragment—consisting of two busts of Apostles—writes: "There is something in common here, it seems to us, with the mood of lyrical melancholy pervading the polyptych from the Badia at Florence (plate 82)." In our opinion the two busts—from what one may see through the repaints—are more evocative of Giotto's later style, and one may even recognize Masaccio's hand in them.



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# PAINTINGS ATTRIBUTED TO GIOTTO

*(Only those works still under discussion are listed below.)*

Plates 226–229

MEDALLIONS WITH PROPHETS and fragment of the ETERNAL FATHER IN THE ACT OF BLESSING. *Frescoes, the diameter of each medallion is approximately 135. Rome, Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore.* Beneath the seven rounds, in a rectangular compartment, one can still see a fragment of the Eternal Father. The frescoes are visible high up in the left transept, and they were probably the upper framing to a cycle of *Stories from the Old Testament*, which was never painted.

The attribution to Giotto comes from critics who also ascribe to him the *Stories of Isaac* at Assisi (plates 1–19 and 230–233), while others acknowledge the Giottesque style of the frescoes but reject all suggestion of the master's authorship. The date is set with good reason by Salmi at 1295–96, since the transept's decoration was suddenly stopped, a fact undoubtedly connected with the accession of Boniface VIII, hated as he was by the Colonna family who had commissioned this work. In fact, the Pope confiscated all their property in 1297. A marked affinity to the *Stories of Isaac* is noticeable in the figure of the *Eternal*, weaker though it is, while the *Prophets* reveal an archaic, harsher hand. They are consequently the product—Coletti argues—of a "Master of the Rounds influenced partly by Cimabue and partly by the 'Master of Isaac,' that is to say, by Giotto."

Plate 230

THE ASCENSION. *Fresco. Assisi, Upper Church of San Francesco.* Together with *The Pentecost* and the *Medallions with St Peter and St Paul* (see below), it decorates the wall above the portal of the Upper Church at Assisi: the Rounds are at the two sides of the rose window, and *The Ascension* and *Pentecost* just below, in two compartments of 5 m. in height and 4 m. in maximum width (see sketch on page 44). These frescoes are generally considered together with the *Stories of Joseph* and from the *Old Testament* upon the walls beneath the fourth vaulting (the first one from the entrance). They have undergone the same critical treatment as the famous *Biblical Stories*, being alternatively attributed to Giotto in his early period or definitely excluded from his corpus. But in 1937 Lochoff admitted that in his opinion these paintings were "not devoid of Giotto's influence in his Padua phase," and more recently (1959) Gnudi separated them from the other frescoes under the fourth vaulting and ascribed them to "Roman collaborators who contributed different and archaic elements at a moment



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when Giotto was already engaged on the Franciscan cycle." In my view such considerations as the perspective affinity between *The Pentecost* (plate 231), *The Sanctioning of the Rule* (plate 38) and *St Francis Preaching before Honorius III* (plate 60) should indicate that these frescoes followed, rather than preceded, Giotto's last autograph works in the Legend. Furthermore, in *The Ascension* many elements strongly suggest a Cavallini origin. It is not improbable, for all these reasons, that this last phase of the church's decoration was conducted at a period very close or even subsequent to Giotto's work at Padua, and of course not by him but by an archaic follower of Giotto.

Plate 231

THE PENTECOST. *Fresco. Assisi, Upper Church of San Francesco.* See comment on *The Ascension* (plate 230).

Plate 232

MEDALLION WITH HEAD OF ST PETER. *Fresco. Assisi, Upper Church of San Francesco.* See comment on *The Ascension* (plate 230).

Plate 233

MEDALLION WITH HEAD OF ST PAUL. *Fresco. Assisi, Upper Church of San Francesco.* See comment on *The Ascension* (plate 230).

Plate 234

A FRANCISCAN SAINT. *Panel, 54 × 39. Florence, Berenson Collection.* The attribution is by Maher (1925) and has been accepted by Berenson, Toesca, Suida, Cecchi, Gamba, whilst others fail to mention it, doubt attribution (Sinibaldi) or definitely reject it (Brandi). The date varies between a moment shortly after the Assisi frescoes and Giotto's late period. It is impeccably "Giottesque," but it lacks the master's power. In our opinion it emerged from Giotto's workshop at a moment fairly close to the Assisi cycles.

Plates 235–237

STORIES OF MARY MAGDALEN. *Frescoes. Assisi, Lower Church of San Francesco.* Upon the arch: *Twelve Figures of Saints*: in rounds upon the vault: *Christ, Mary Magdalen, Martha, Lazarus*. On the left wall, from the top: *Tebaldo Pontano, Bishop of Assisi, Worshipping St Rufino; Dinner at the Home of the Pharisee; Raising of Lazarus, Communion of the Magdalen.* On the right wall from the top: *Cardinal Pietro di Barro, Bishop of Sabina, in the Attire of a Cistercian Monk, Worships St Mary Magdalen; Noli Me Tangere; St Mary Magdalen Lands at Marseilles; Ascension of St Mary Magdalen.* Above the arch: *St Mary Magdalen Receiving Clothes from Zosimus*. The attribution is by Thode supported by Perkins, Siren, A. Venturi and Berenson, but most modern critics reject it. Coletti, however, is none too sure and Gnudi (1959) is certain that this work was entrusted to Giotto in the period between the Scrovegni frescoes and the Peruzzi Chapel. He believes, furthermore, that the master began the rounds of *Lazarus* and the *Magdalen* upon the vault (plate 235), then sketched out many ideas and ultimately left the execution to his pupils, though contributing in person to *The Raising of Lazarus* (plate 237) and to the two votive frescoes (plate 236). In my opinion none of these paintings are by Giotto, not even the beautiful round of *Lazarus*, too soft, naturalistic and indeed, as Toesca calls it, "macabre." This is the work of a most distinguished follower, assisted by others, datable about 1320.



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Plate 238

THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI. *Panel, 44 × 43. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.* This and the other six paintings listed below have been variously attributed to Giotto (Rumohr, Longhi, Gnudi) or to his workshop (Crowe and Cavacaselle, Brandi, Toesca). The most acceptable verdict appears to be that of Salmi, who sees the compositions as late Giotto executed by his workshop. It is not to be excluded that among the contributors was an assistant to the Master of the Peruzzi Chapel. We shall know more about this once the Peruzzi frescoes have been thoroughly cleaned.

Plate 239

THE PRESENTATION OF CHRIST IN THE TEMPLE. *Panel, 44 × 43. Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum.* See comment on *The Adoration of the Magi* (plate 238).

Plate 240

THE LAST SUPPER. *Panel, 45 × 44. Munich, Alte Pinakothek.* See comment on *The Adoration of the Magi* (plate 238).

Plate 241

THE CRUCIFIXION. *Panel, 45 × 44. Munich, Alte Pinakothek.* See comment on *The Adoration of the Magi* (plate 238).

Plate 242

THE DEPOSITION. *Panel, 44.5 × 43. Florence, Berenson Collection.* See comment on *The Adoration of the Magi* (plate 238).

Plate 243

THE DESCENT TO LIMBO. *Panel, 45 × 44. Munich, Alte Pinakothek.* See comment on the *Adoration of the Magi* (plate 238).

Plate 244

THE PENTECOST. *Panel, 45 × 44. London, National Gallery.* See comment on *The Adoration of the Magi* (plate 238).

Plates 245–246

VIRGIN AND CHILD ENTHRONED WITH FOUR SAINTS. *Polyptych: panel, 91 × 340. Bologna, Pinacoteca.* The work is signed: *Opus magistri Jocti de Florentia*, and was formerly in the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli, built by Gera di Taddeo Pepoli after his return from exile in 1328 (Frati, 1910; Gnudi, 1959). This would warrant dating the polyptych after 1330. It is generally considered a workshop product painted about or after 1330. The figure of the Virgin and the rounds in the predella are of a much higher quality than the rest and it may be assumed that the master contributed to them.

Plates 247–248

THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN. *Polyptych: panel, 185 × 323. Florence, Basilica of Santa Croce.* The work, signed *Opus magistri Jocti*, was recorded by Ghiberti—with some doubts, however, as to the attribution—and described by Vasari. The frame and the cherubs inside it are of the late fifteenth century. Modern critics attribute the panel to Giotto's workshop. Surely, the master designed it and he may even have painted in person the angels in the center, but the main part of the execution was left to Taddeo Gaddi and his pupils. It is datable presumably after 1332 when Gaddi was engaged in decorating the Baroncelli Chapel where the painting can be seen to this day.

Plate 249

THE ETERNAL FATHER AND ANGELS. *Panel, 76 × 71. San Diego,*



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of the Vele," an archaic artist influenced by Sienese painters.

Datable not before 1320 and—if Gosebruch is right in assuming that it was commissioned by Cardinal Stefaneschi, who was the Protector of the Franciscan Order—not before 1334. The same master painted the stories from Christ's childhood in the barrel-vault of the transept.

LAST JUDGMENT and STORIES FROM THE LIFE OF MARY MAGDALENE. *Frescoes. Florence, Chapel of the Palazzo del Podestà.* About 1400 Filippo Villani recalled as a work by Giotto a self-portrait next to Dante's picture *in tabula altaris* in the Palace's chapel. Villani's text was translated into Italian by Antonio Manetti about 1450. In the Italian version the portrait is no longer described as painted on a *tabula*, or panel, but by a *muro*, that is "upon the wall." This leads one to assume that, the panel having disappeared, the translator thought it well to alter the text in the belief that the author had made a mistake. Hence the attribution to Giotto of the chapel's frescoes, rediscovered in 1840 and cleaned by Marini. They belong to Giotto's school, but the master could not have painted them.

ST FRANCIS RECEIVING THE STIGMATA and THE MARTYRDOM OF ONE HUNDRED SAINTS. *Fragments of frescoes. Padua, Chapter of Sant'Antonio in Padua.* Riccobaldo Ferrarese recorded that Giotto worked in the Franciscan church in Padua, but it is not established whether he was referring to the Chapter's frescoes which were expressly said to be by Giotto by Michele Savonarola about 1440. The remaining fragments, attributed to the master by Pichon and Maher, are more likely to have been painted by a pupil.

TWO BUSTS OF APOSTLES. *Fragments of fresco. Assisi, Fiumi Collection.* From the apse in the old Church of St Peter's. (See Lost Paintings, *Five Stories from the Life of Christ*, page 85.)



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# LOCATION OF PAINTINGS

## AMSTERDAM

GOUDSTIKKER COLLECTION

*St Francis* (attribution).
*St John the Baptist* (attribution).

## ASSISI

LOWER CHURCH OF SAN FRANCESCO

*Franciscan Allegories* (attribution).
*Stories of Mary Magdalene* (plate 235–237; attribution).

UPPER CHURCH OF SAN FRANCESCO

*Biblical Stories* (plates 1–19 and 230–233; the frescoes in the second group are attributions).
*Medallions* (plates 24–25).
*The Legend of St Francis* (plates 26–77 and color plates I and II).

FIUMI COLLECTION

*Two Busts of Apostles* (attribution).

## BERLIN

STAATLICHES MUSEEN

*The Death of the Virgin* (plates 218–221.
*The Crucifixion* (plate 254; attribution).

## BOLOGNA

PINACOTECA NAZIONALE

*Virgin and Child Enthroned with Four Saints* (plates 245–246; attribution).

## BOSTON

ISABELLA STEWART GARDNER MUSEUM

*The Presentation of Christ in the Temple* (plate 239; attribution).

## BOVILLE ERNICA (FROSINONE)

CHURCH OF SAN PIETRO ISPANO

*Angel in Mosaic* (plate 179a).

## BRUSSELS

STOCLET COLLECTION

*The Crucifixion* (attribution).
*The Nativity* (attribution).

## CAMBRIDGE (MASSACHUSETTS)

FOGG ART MUSEUM

*St Francis Receiving the Stigmata* (attribution).

## CHÂALIS (FRANCE)

MUSEE JACQUEMART-ANDRE

*St John the Evangelist* (plate 224).
*St Lawrence* (plate 225).

## FLORENCE

BASILICA OF SANTA CROCE (BARDI CHAPEL)

*Stories from the Life of St Francis* (plates 196–215)
*St Clare* (plate 216).
*St Ludovic of Toulouse* (plate 217).



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BASILICA OF SANTA CROCE (BARNOCELLI CHAPEL)
*The Coronation of the Virgin* (plates 247–248; attribution).

BASILICA OF SANTA CROCE (PERUZZI CHAPEL)
*Stories of the Two St Johns* (plates 191–195 and color plate VII).

CHURCH OF OGNISSANTI
*Crucifix* (attribution).

CHURCH OF SAN FELICE
*Crucifix* (attribution).

CHURCH OF SAN GIORGIO ALLA COSTA
*Virgin and Child Enthroned* (plates 80–81).

CHURCH OF SAN MARCO
*Crucifix* (attribution).

CHURCH OF SANTA MARIA NOVELLA
*Crucifix* (plate 20).

UFFIZI GALLERY
*Madonna and Child in Glory* (plates 185–189 and color plate VI).

PRIVATE COLLECTION
*Christ in the Act of Blessing* (attribution).

MUSEO DELL' OPERA DI SANTA CROCE
*The Badia Polyptych* (plates 82–85).

HORNE MUSEUM
*St Stephen* (plate 222 and color plate VIII).

PALAZZO DEL PODESTA
*The Last Judgment* (attribution).
*Stories from the Life of Mary Magdalene* (attribution).

BARDINI COLLECTION
*St Benedict* (attribution).

BERENSON COLLECTION
*A Franciscan Saint* (plate 234; attribution).
*The Deposition* (plate 242; attribution).
*The Crucifixion* (attribution).

## LONDON

NATIONAL GALLERY
*The Pentecost* (plate 244; attribution).

ROTHMERE COLLECTION
*The Coronation of the Virgin* (attribution).

JEKYLL COLLECTION (formerly)
*The Redeemer* (plate 181).

## MUNICH

ALTE PINAKOTHEK
*The Last Supper* (plate 240; attribution).
*The Crucifixion* (plate 241; attribution).
*The Descent to Limbo* (plate 243; attribution).

## NEW YORK

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART
*The Adoration of the Magi* (plate 238; attribution).

WILDENSTEIN COLLECTION
*Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints and Virtues* (plate 256; attribution).

## PADUA

CHAPTER OF SANT' ANTONIO
*St Francis Receiving the Stigmata* (attribution).
*The Martyrdom of One Hundred Saints* (attribution).

ARENA CHAPEL
*Stories from the Lives of the Virgin and Christ* (plates 86–153 and color plates III, IV and V).



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*The Secret Chapels* (plate 154).
*The Last Judgment* (plates 155–165).
*Allegories of Virtues and Vices* (plates 166–71).
*Medallions in the Vaulting* (plates 172–175).
*Ornamental Bands* (plates 176–178).
*Crucifix* (plates 182–184).

## PARIS

### Louvre

*St Francis Receiving the Stigmata* (attribution).

### Stern Collection

*Two Angels* (attribution).

### Private Collection

*St Paul with Twelve Worshippers* (attribution).

## RIMINI

### Tempio Malatestiano

*Crucifix* (plate 180).

### Basilica of St John Lateran

*Boniface VIII Proclaiming the Jubilee* (plates 78–79).

## ROME (See also VATICAN CITY)

### Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore

*Medallions with Prophets* and *The Eternal Father in the Act of Blessing* (plates 226–229; attribution).

### Museo Petriano

*Angel in Mosaic* (plate 179b).

## SAN DIEGO (CALIFORNIA)

### Fine Arts Gallery

*The Eternal Father and Angels* (plate 249; attribution).

## STRASBOURG

### Musées Municipaux

*The Crucifixion* (plate 255; attribution).

## VATICAN CITY

### Basilica of St Peter

*Navicella* (mosaic entirely reconstructed).

### Museo Petriano

*Angel in Mosaic* (plate 179b).

### Pinacoteca Vaticana

*The Stefaneschi Triptych* (plates 250–253; attribution).

## WASHINGTON D.C.

### National Gallery of Art

*Madonna and Child* (plate 223).



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# SELECTED CRITICISM

Once, Cimabue thought to hold the field
In painting; Giotto's all the rage today;
The other's fame lies in the dust concealed.

DANTE,
*Purgatory*, IX, 95–97; *c.* 1310.
(Eng. Transl. by Dorothy Sayers)

He was endowed with such an excellent intelligence that Nature, the mother and operator of all things, creates nothing that he could not reproduce with his stylus, or pen and brush, so that his painting, rather than being similar to its model, appeared as the model itself and much of what he did misled the eyes of man, because they took that which was painted to be real. Because he brought out into the light an art that had been lost for centuries through the error of those who painted to satisfy the eyes of the ignorant rather than the eyes of the wise, he deserves to be called one of the lights of Florentine glory; furthermore he was so humble that, though he lived as a master of others, he always refused to be called master. . . .

G. BOCCACCIO,
*Decameron*, *c.* 1350.

Giotto translated the art of painting from Greek into Latin, and made it modern; his was the most accomplished art that any had ever achieved.

C. CENNINI,
*Il libro dell'Arte*, *c.* 1390.

Giotto made himself great in the art of painting. He brought about a new art and abandoned the roughness of the Greeks; he stood out above all others in Tuscany and executed beautiful works, especially in Florence and in many other places. Several



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of his pupils became as learned as the ancient Greeks. Giotto saw in art that which others failed to perceive and add to; he made it natural and gave it gentleness, never exceeding its boundaries. He was most accomplished in all the arts, and invented and discovered much knowledge which had laid buried for nearly six hundred years.

L. GHIBERTI,
*I Commentarii*, *c.* 1450.

After the Romans, painters went on imitating each other and with each generation art went further into a decline. Then came Giotto of Florence who was not content with imitating his master Cimabue. Born amidst lonely mountains, he began by drawing upon stones the goats in his herd, and after much studying and learning he surpassed not only the masters of his epoch but also those of many centuries before him. After him art declined again, for all would imitate his paintings.

LEONARDO DA VINCI,
*Codice Atlantico*, *c.* 1500.

It is true that, as poets describe what is outside painters try to portray as best they can that which is inside, that is to say, the emotions; the first one to do this in ancient times, Pliny tells us, was Aristides of Thebes; in modern times it was done by Giotto.

B. VARCHI,
*Lezzione*, 1546.

It was truly a very great miracle that an age so vulgar and incompetent as that in which he lived could act so wisely upon Giotto; that drawing, so little known to men at that time, could be revived, thanks to him.

G. VASARI,
*Vite*, 1568.

If Cimabue was the Michelangelo of that era, then Giotto was its Raphael. In his hands painting became an art so gentle that none of his pupils, nor anyone else before Massaccio could surpass him or even become his equal, at least in grace. . . . Thanks to him symmetry became more accurate, design softer, color



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more tender; with those pointed hands, the tip-toeing feet and the frightened eyes which were still evocative of the Greek style, everything became more controlled.

L. LANZI,
*Storia Pittorica dell'Italia*, 1789.

Though acknowledging the great qualities of mind and spirit of Dante, we would be helped in evaluating his works if we recall that in those very days, when Giotto also lived, representational art was being reborn in all its natural power. He too was driven by the genius of physical-imaginative significance. The eye of his imagination could see its objects so clearly that he could then reproduce them with the utmost clarity of outline.

J. W. VON GOETHE,
*Dante*, 1826.

This high intellect touched upon affections with the depth of a philosopher and the free imagination of a poet. . . . In brief, all is sorrow in this composition (the Arena Chapel *Lamentation*); there is such an evidence, such a graduation of affections, such an expression of grief that I would not fear to claim that Giotto, in composing this picture, showed perhaps a greater perception and depth than other equally famous artists who lived in more enlightened centuries, could ever have brought to the subject.

P. E. SELVATICO,
*Sulla cappellina degli Scrivegni*, 1836.

This, then, is Giotto's claim to everlasting appreciation as an artist; that his thoroughgoing sense for the significant in the visible world enabled him so to represent things that we realize his representations more quickly and more completely than we should realize the things themselves, thus giving us that confirmation of our sense of capacity which is so great a source of pleasure.

B. BERENSON,
*The Italian Painters of the Renaissance*, 1896.

Giotto's art is not representational writing, not the literal translation of the apocryphal Gospel, but a study of the essential



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moments of the legend. . . . He summarized the beloved legend with his practical, logical Italian spirit, free from all the minuteness and symbolic abstruseness. . . . Suddenly he grasped from reality its spontaneous forms and from the apocryphal legends their spontaneous moments of feeling. The sacred theatre was magically opened in the Arena Chapel; there for centuries, Giotto, the first and greatest of modern actors, has been speaking, moving the hearts of his audiences and heightening their excitement.

A. VENTURI,
*Storia dell'Arte*, 1907.

The intimate relationship between the articulation of planes and the narration causes the events and all that Giotto gathers from the appearances in nature to participate in the harmony of his compositions. Conversely the whole harmony of the composition appears to arise spontaneously from the historical events and from nature. Giotto's beauty is full of this fascinating and vigorous ingenuousness which conveys to us with fresh immediacy the deep and lively relationship between art and nature. . . . His narrations are architectural works. Each element is exactly weighed and carefully inserted into the picture, so that its objective meaning may dictate the manner and the measure of its rhythmic function. Everything lies in a precise relationship, and the clarity of action in Giotto's paintings is fundamentally the result of a suggestive counterpoint of planes. An elastic interplay of forces, a plot of clear relationships, this is Giotto's narrative. . . . He conceives his single parts not as moments of a scenic representation but rather as agents, which co-operate to illuminate the incident with symbolic and rational significance. This principle in the course of centuries has introduced some false values into art, but the whole power of Italian painting rests upon it and so far as Giotto is concerned, it is the source of the unconditional assurance, the nervous energy, the high epic imagination informing all his works.

F. RINTELEN,
*Giotto und Die Giotto-Apokryphen*, 1912.



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Thus the ideals of medieval civilization, in all its power, is projected on to the earth. The urgent presence of the human image does not deprive it of its ideal inspiration. Here lies the secret of Giotto's art. A closer agreement between his figures and their surroundings would have diverted our attention to man. A greater precision of plastic effect would have caused the human figure to become grosser. A heavier stress of the line would have deprived the human figure of its reality, and a richer tonality of color would have lessened the precision of each image. A less rigorous architectural structure would have reduced the artist's control over it, suggested some sentimental analysis, created probably, some magnificent moments, but in the end the "synthesis" which characterizes Giotto's creations would have suffered. The harmony of all these elements, ultimately contained in the blending of line and plastic plane, enables Giotto to capture within a limited space and with an iron logic, the ideal dreamed of before him and the reality studied after him.

L. VENTURI,
*Introduzione a l'arte di Giotto*, 1919.

In Assisi (the frescoes of *The Legend of St Francis*) we experience a robust pleasure in recognizing and defining the natural world. It is the joy of a conquest full of curiosity. But in the frescoes of Joachim's solitude (in the Arena Chapel in Padua) nature becomes as it were the moral source of emotions, their most intimate and hospitable ambience. It is the reserve and the well of forces which obscurely create and keep feeding our life. From those barren mountaintops vital forces descend like hidden rivers that one can hear calmly and powerfully flowing close by. Upon those mountains peace and cooperation between Man and Cosmos have been re-established. Of what remains of such peace we have eaten and shall go on eating as long as Western civilization shall not be overrun and destroyed. For these reasons some of the Padua frescoes are not only significant and valuable as works of art more pure and powerful than any other. . . .

E. CECCHI,
*Giotto*, 1937.



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Giotto approached with a penetrating clarity the profound and poetic humanity of St Francis who, in a spirit more lyrical than mystical, saw the brotherhood of all things as a universal responsibility for all human sins. In the Saint, Giotto saw the essence of the man; his Francis is not the ascetic, emaciated Saint of Bonaventura Berlinghieri or of Cimabue. . . . There is no rhapsodic process, no sudden enthusiasm, not even in the *Miracles*, in the *Stigmata*, or in the *St Damian Crucifix*; there is only a constant inflexible search for human concreteness expressed through images and departing from a moral conscience. Holiness, intended as man's highest form of dignity, appears not so much as the product of fasting and hallucinations but as humanity itself, through the social and Christian redemption of man, who is saintly in that he is man, not man in that he is saintly.

C. BRANDI,
*Giotto*, 1938.

The initial condition of narrative lucidity apart, Giotto's concern here was with establishing the dignity of human fate through the material significance of the human figure. The figure is locked in an organic composition in which each, by its predominant verticality and simplified contour, instantly relates itself, alone and in groups, to the lateral limits of the compartment. By the same principle the figures are deployed across its width in a continuity that brings them into harmony with the horizontal limits as well. The composition thus approximates a regular geometric pattern, which assures its assimilation within the rectangular frame.

R. OFFNER,
*Giotto-Non-Giotto*, 1939.

And though we pass from one to other of Giotto's qualities we have still not seen them all, nor assembled them together, until we come to the final act of creation of the Padua frescoes: the composition. This painter-dramatist had a sublime capacity for grasping and representing movement, the essential element of his compositions. If, among the Arena frescoes, one looks at *The*



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*Flight into Egypt*, one realizes in full the measure of this attitude, so complete is the illusion there of the solemn advance of those figures which seem to be passing before our eyes with a pace that will take them far, far away. . . . The theme, easily reduced to the representation of an anecdote, is transformed by the deep human sentiment brought into it by Giotto, who graduates its every part: the almost indifferent servants follow the fugitives; the youth leading the donkey seems to be interested only in the length of the journey and asks Joseph about it. But Joseph, in turning towards him, is really glancing at his family. Only one person knows what the future holds in store, and faces it squarely: it is the Mother, though she appears concerned only with holding her Child securely in her arms. The colors are intense and sombrely harmonized with the impending darkness enveloping the road; forms stand out of the dusk like high-reliefs, but the greatest impression is still that unceasing motion of figures, which the ascending lines of the rocky landscape appears to reinforce.

Giotto's composition, powerfully dramatic, summarizes the action at its culminating moment, often selecting the one which may suggest the previous and the following moments: once the scenes are reduced to the indispensable details and *personae*, the details are made ideally subservient to the figures and actions.

P. TOESCA,
*Giotto*, 1941.

Whoever places himself in the center of the chapel, where his eyes can best span the apse-wall, will immediately see that the two imitation interiors (the *Secret Chapels* on the triumphal arch) actually pierce the wall and tend to interfere with the very architecture of the shrine. This illusion is helped by the two Gothic vaults converging upon a single center which is to be found on the axis of the chapel; that is, within the real, existing depth of the apse. It is helped by the inner light which, originating from the center, spreads inside the two interiors, illuminating even the little columns and ledges of the arched windows. It is



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helped by the outer light of the blue sky outside the windows, not an "abstract" ultramarine but a pale-blue, fully consonant with the real light filtering through the apsidal windows, so much so that one would not be surprised at seeing the same swallows from the nearby roof of the Eremitani soaring past the little windows. Giotto therefore was fully conversant with perspective, and consequently, if he did not apply the same principles to his narrative representations, this must have been due to a deliberate act of will, deriving from a meditated appreciation of a different "limit".

R. LONGHI,
*Giotto spazioso*, 1952.

With Joachim and the Shepherds we have the beginning of the famous series of Joachim's withdrawal to the silence of nature. Nature of course, is not realistically represented, but felt in its deepest fibers. Observe how the "metaphysical" shape of those trees is intensified, as compared with similar themes at Assisi, against the "metaphysical" background of blue sky . . . the solemn breathing, in the light of an eternal dawn, of that mountainside and rock. It really looks like the threshold of infinity: the light vibrating upon the straw roof of the hut, and the shadow within the open door. So that when, as much too often, people say that nature is absent from Giotto's poetical world, it will be necessary to explain that what is absent is natural reality in its rational organic structure, not the powerful throb of nature, the feeling of nature, so close to the feeling of infinity in these stories of Joachim and in so many other details of the chapel. In the spiritual reality represented by Giotto in its entirety, as in Dante's *Divine Comedy*, this feeling of nature exercises an extremely important function.

C. GNUDI,
*Giotto*, 1959.

Giotto died in 1337 just as Pope Benedict XII was about to summon him to Avignon. There he would probably have met Simone Martini—perhaps not for the first time—and his style



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might then have spread beyond Italy to the whole of Europe. By way of the Renaissance masters, however, who venerated him as their greatest ancestor, his style finally brought its influence to bear on the whole of Western art. Or rather, more than his style, the great problem he set himself to solve in his paintings: that of reconciling mind and matter, sacred and profane, idea and action, geometrical structure (following the principles of Vitruvius) and nature.

The whole of the Renaissance can by no means be said to lie in this achievement, and indeed a case might easily be made out for seeing in Giotto more than anything else, one of the summits of classicism. But whether we link him up with the Renaissance or with Classicism, it must be acknowledged that he worked out pictorial solutions which for centuries set the standard of Western art, whose visual categories he virtually created.

E. BATTISTI,
*Giotto*, 1960.

(From the translation by James Emmons—SKIRA Edition—distributed by the World Publishing Company, Cleveland 2, Ohio, U.S.A.)



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# BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The copious literature on Giotto, beginning with Dante's lines, has been listed and reviewed, up till 1937, by R. Salvini in his *Giotto: Bibliographia*, Istituto di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, Rome 1938; the bibliography concerning the works on show at the memorable Giotto Exhibition of 1937 can be found in the catalogue of that display: G. Sinibaldi—G. Brunetti, *Pittura italiana del Duecento e del Trecento* (Sansoni, Florence 1943).

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*Giotto*, Milan 1959; E. Battisti's profile *Giotto*, Geneva 1960 and the short essay by M. Meiss *Giotto and Assisi*, University Press, New York 1960. For detailed information about Giotto's knowledge of perspective see *Perspectiva Artificialis*, by D. Gioseffi, Trieste 1957. Gioseffi is also preparing a monograph to be entitled *Giotto Architetto*.

I would also like to mention a beautiful series of photographs of the Assisi frescoes, with an introductory note by Toesca, in the two albums of *Monumenta artis photographice edita* (Bencini e Sansoni, Florence).



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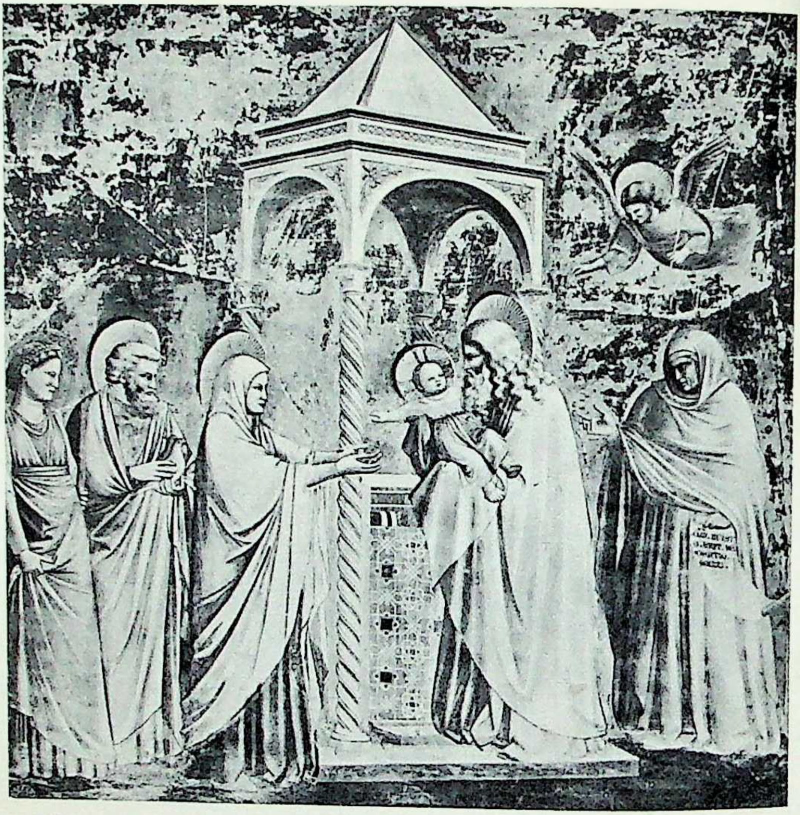

Plate 114. THE PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE, Padua, Arena Chapel

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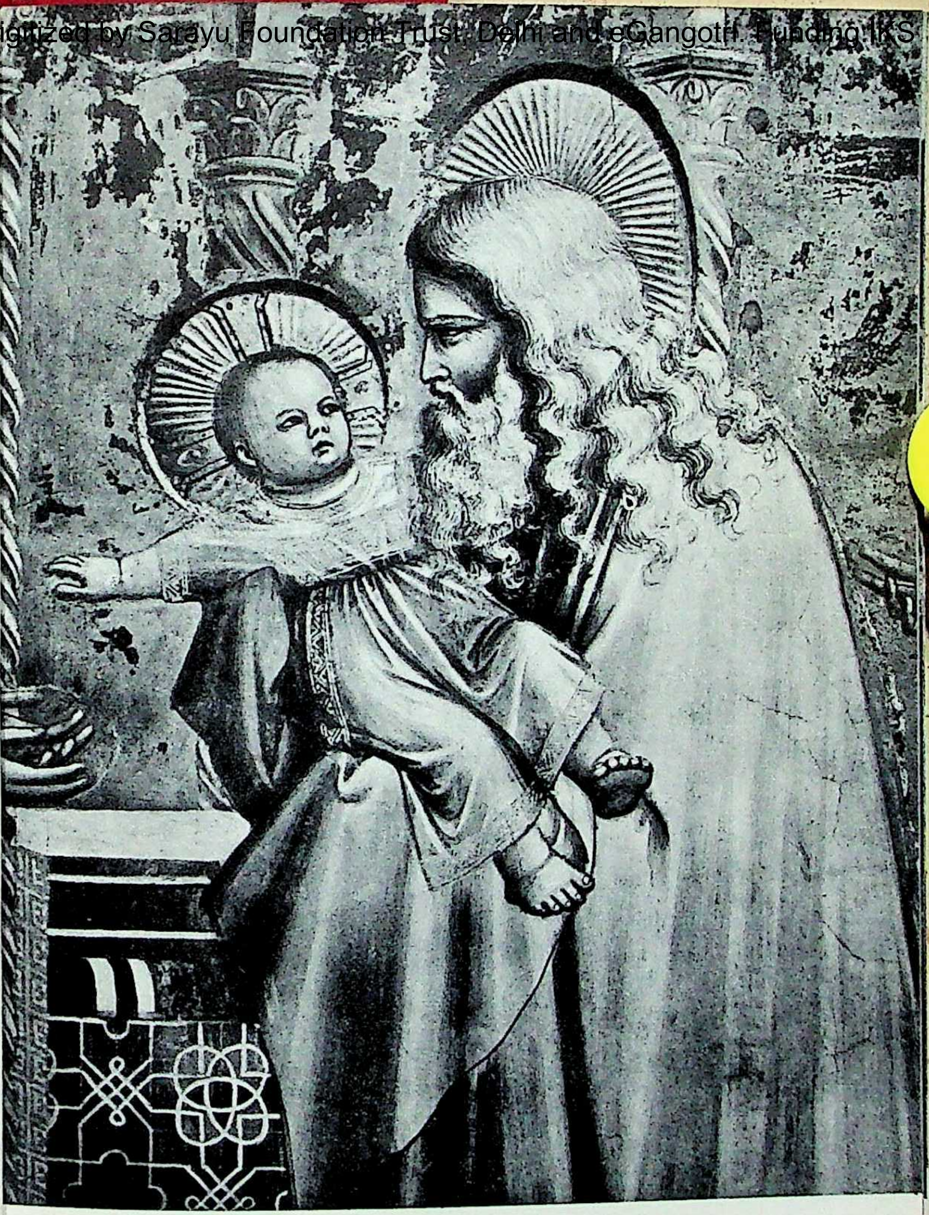

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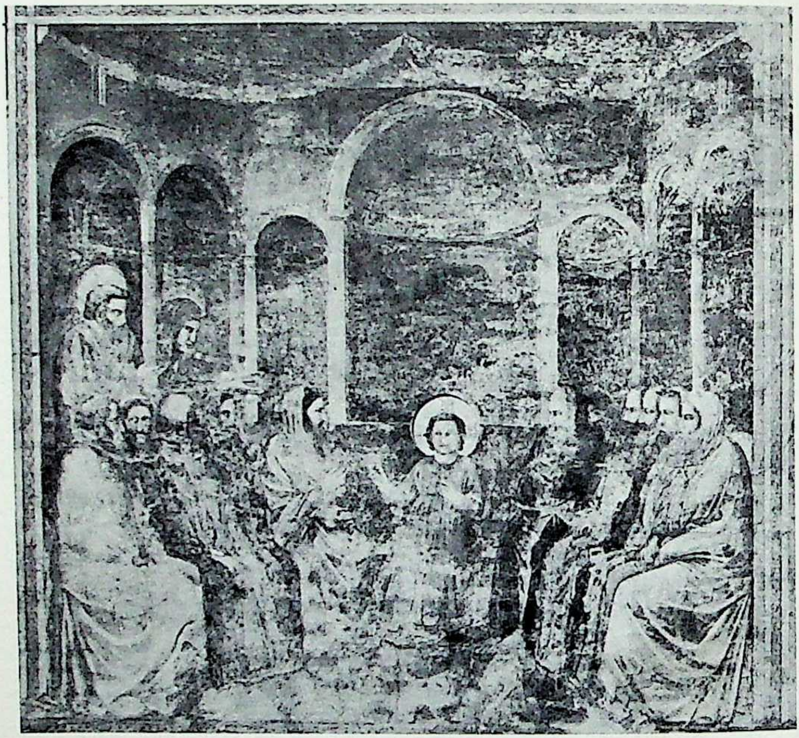

Plate 120. CHRIST AMONG THE ELDERS, Padua, Arena Chapel

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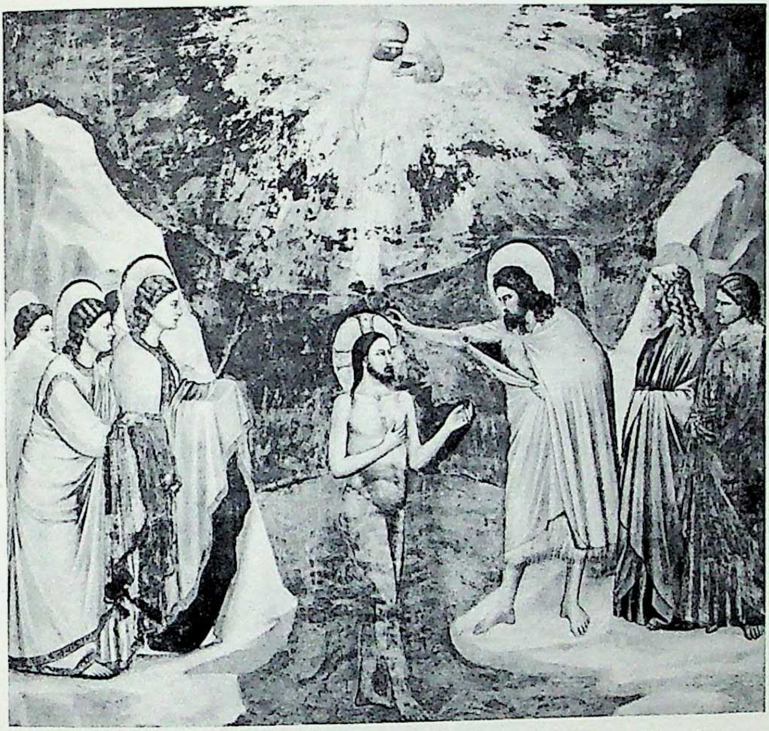

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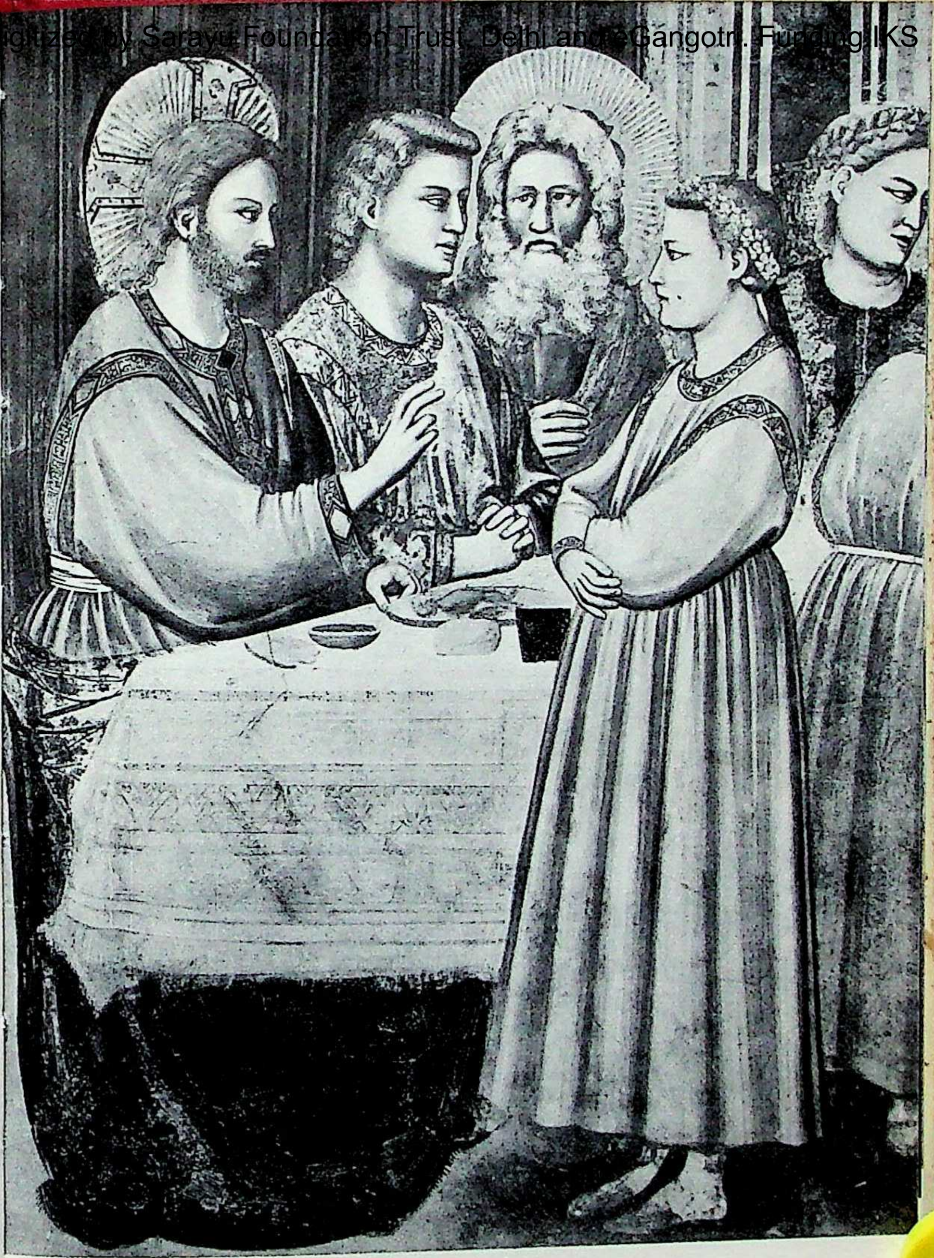

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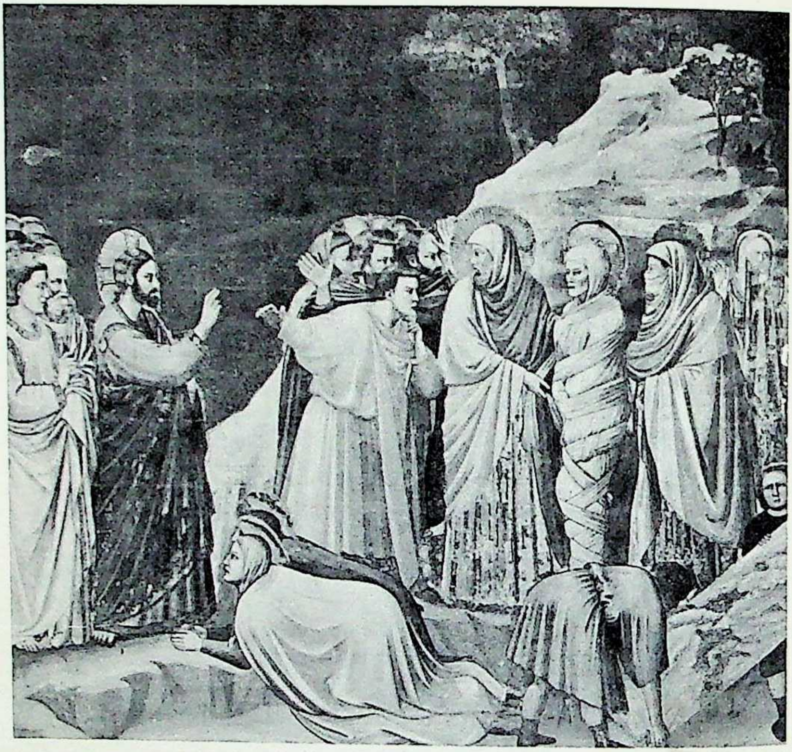

Plate 124. THE RAISING OF LAZARUS, Padua, Arena Chapel

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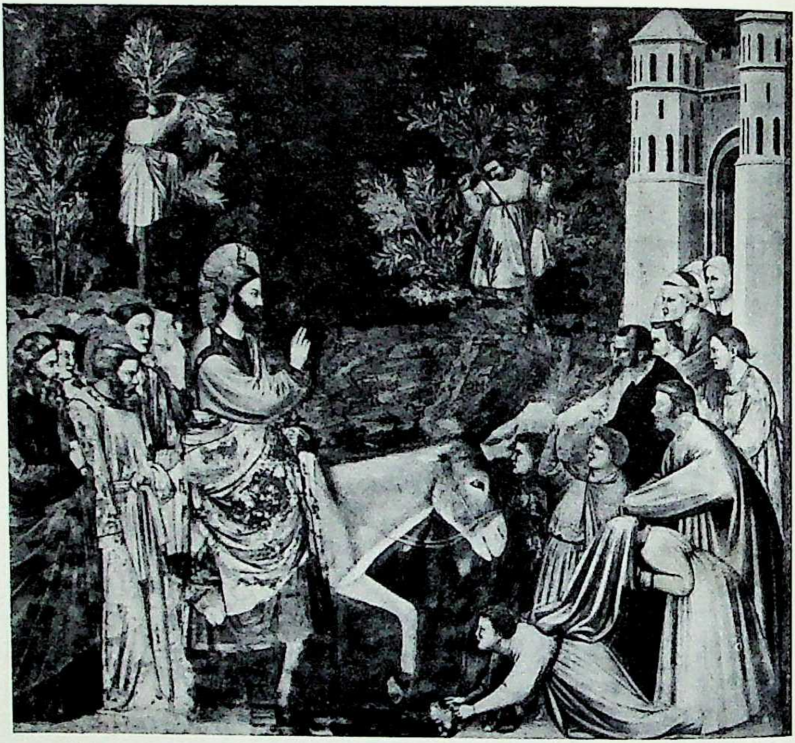

Plate 126. THE ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM, Padua, Arena Chapel

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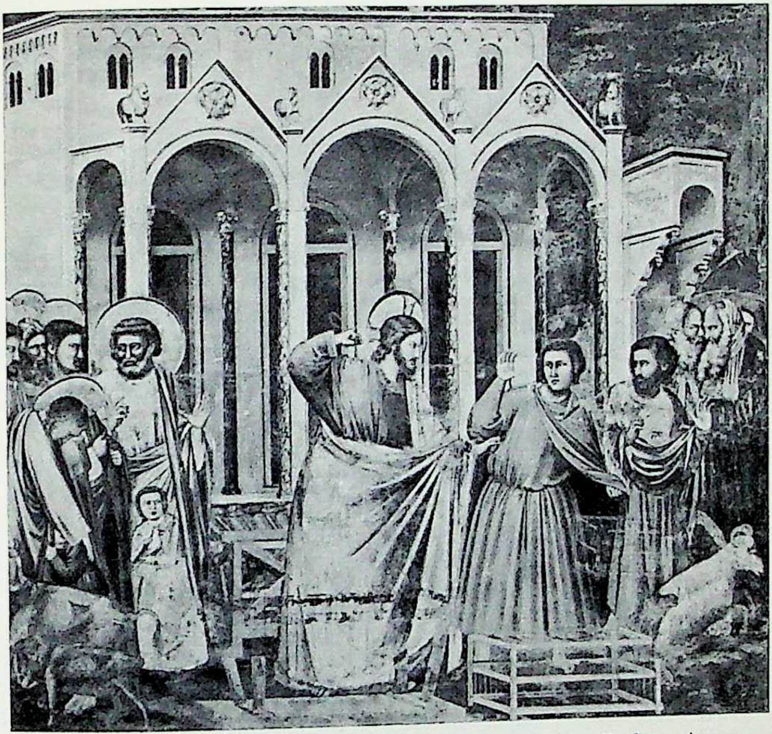

Plate 127. CHRIST EXPELS THE MONEYLENDERS, Padua, Arena Chapel

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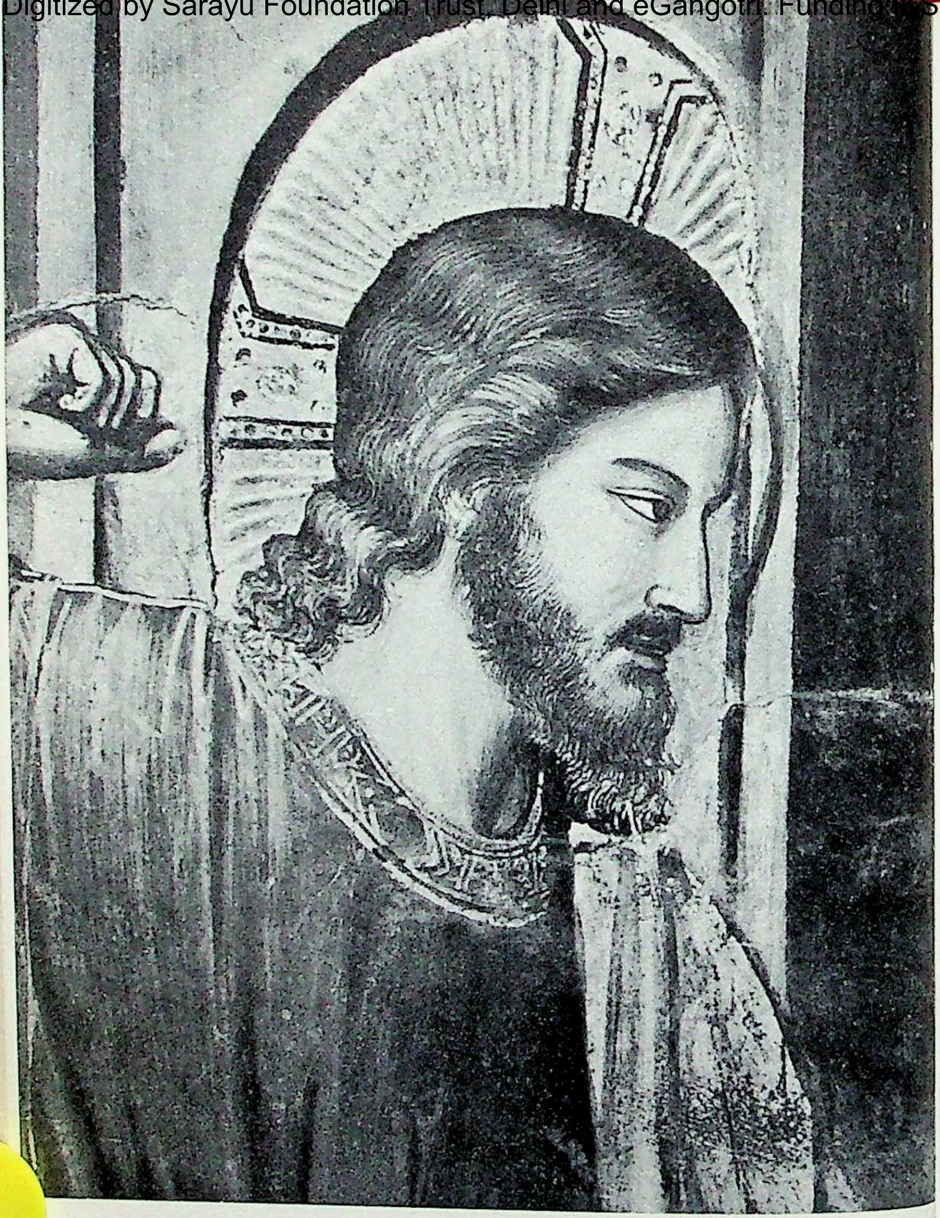

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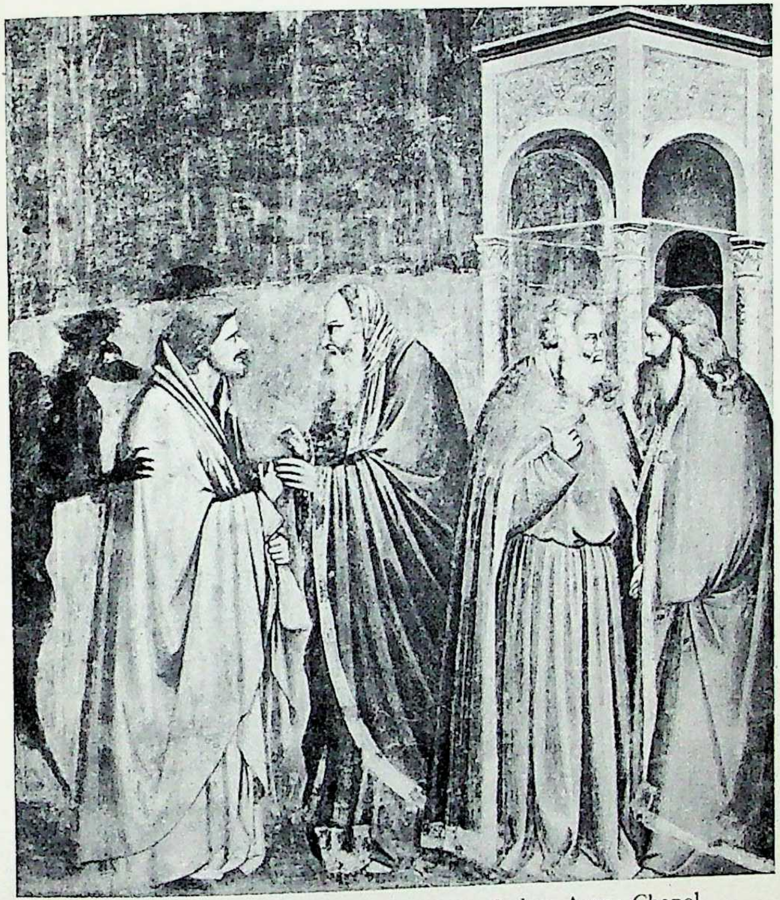

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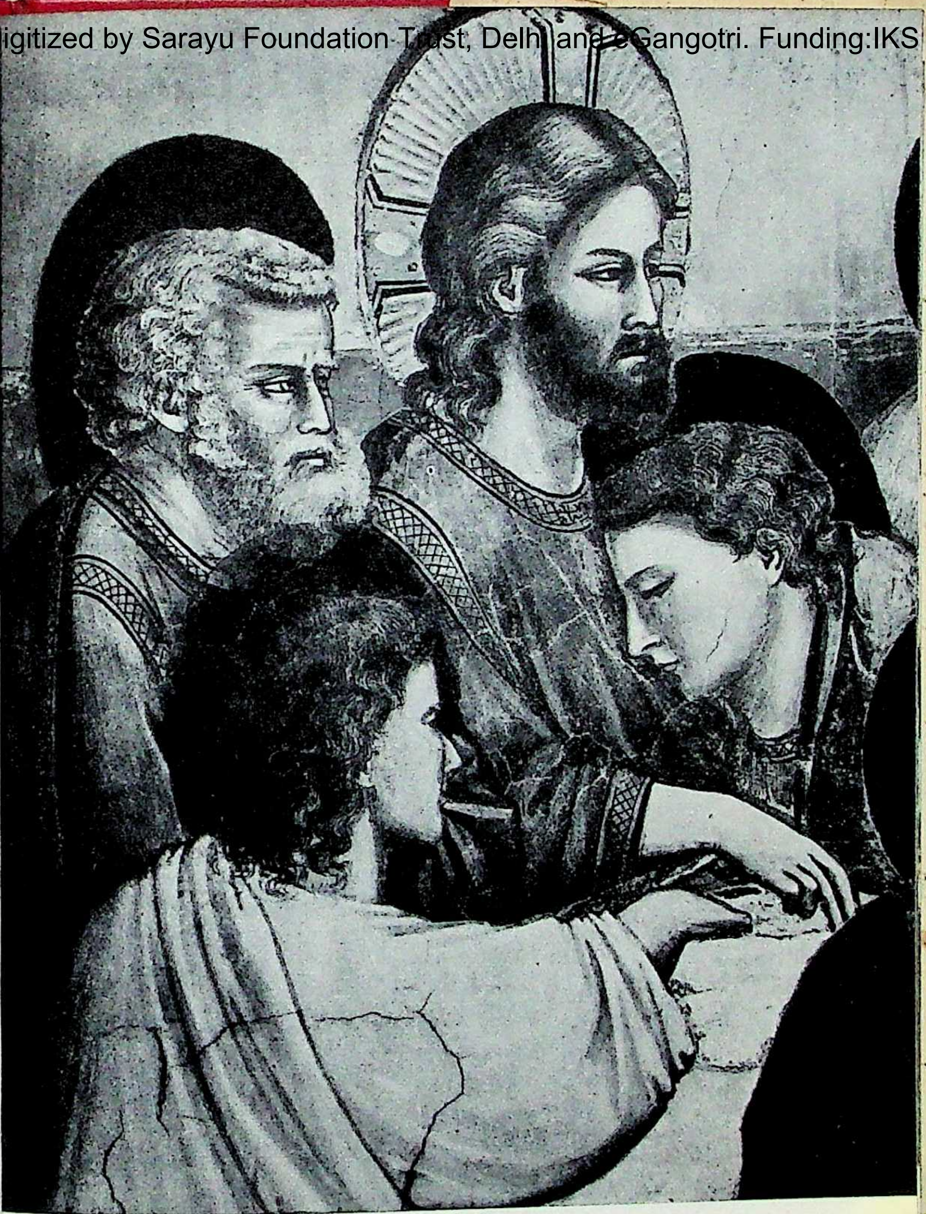

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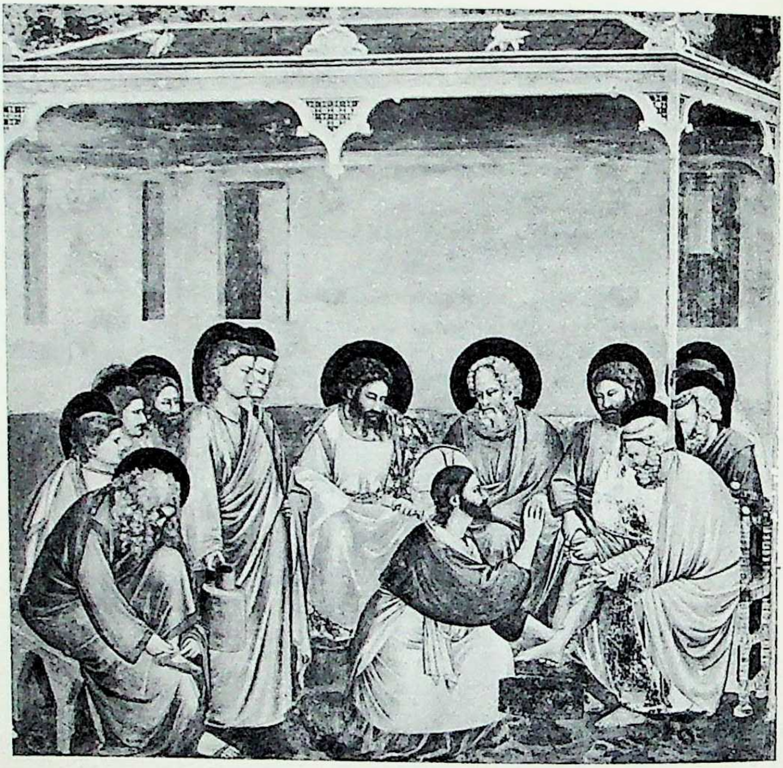

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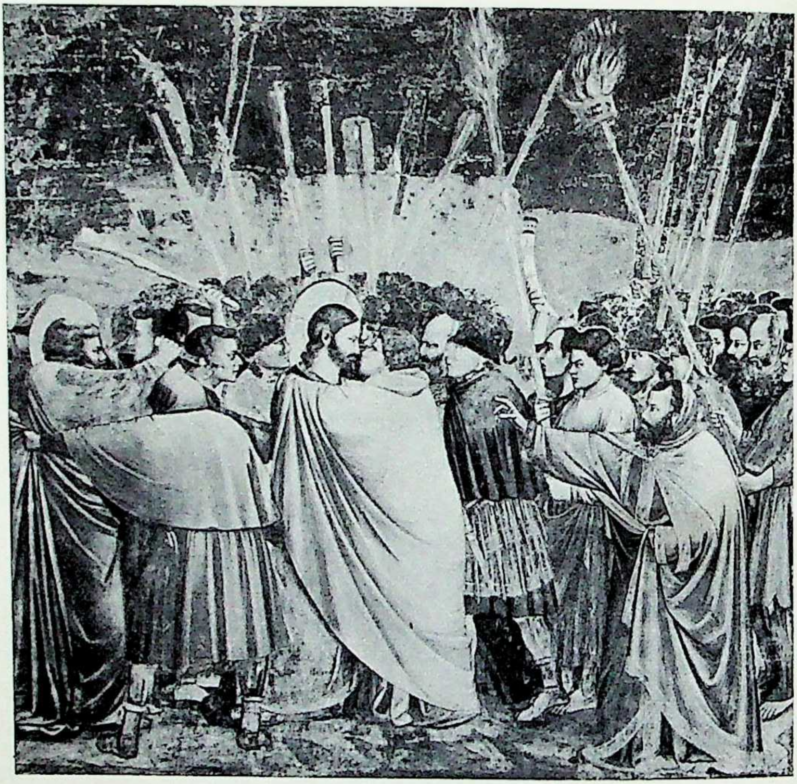

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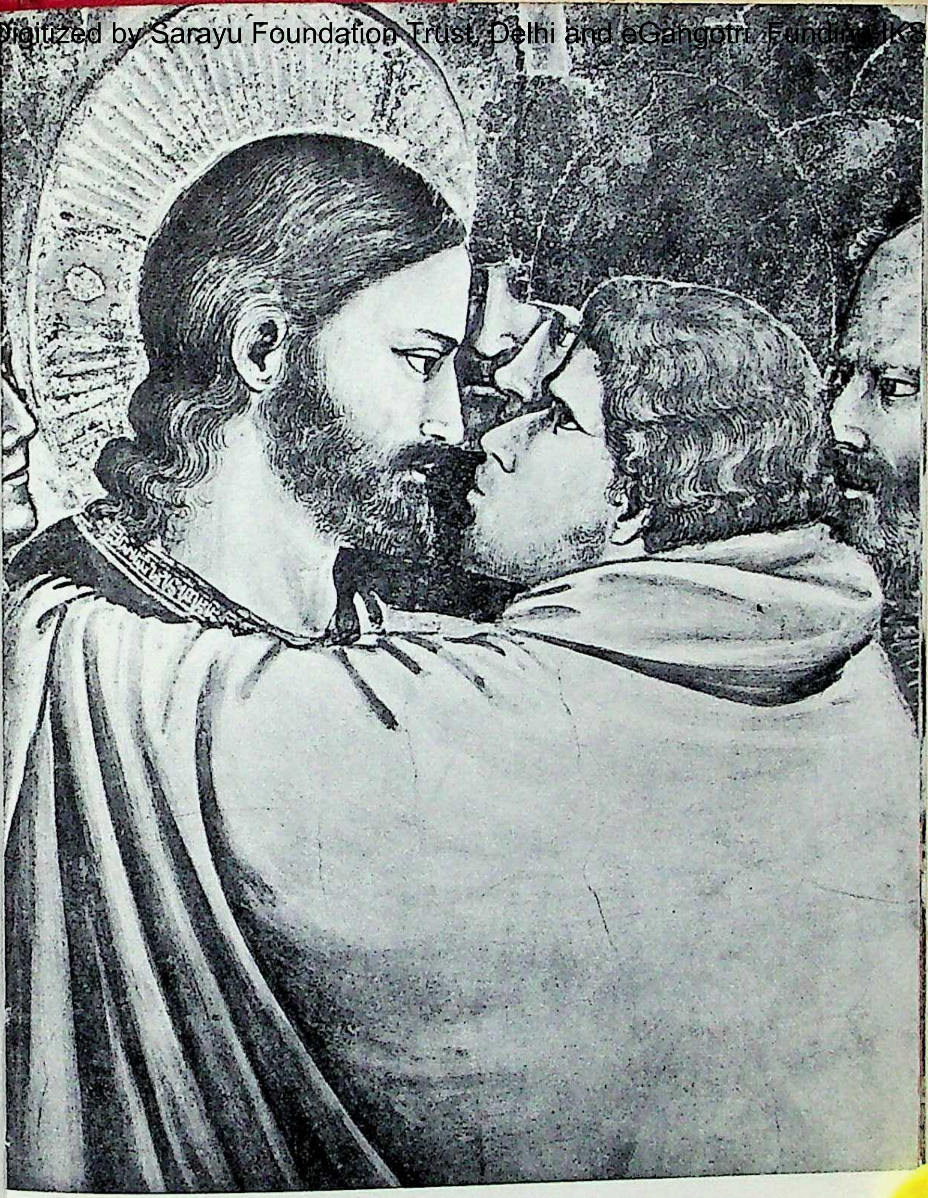

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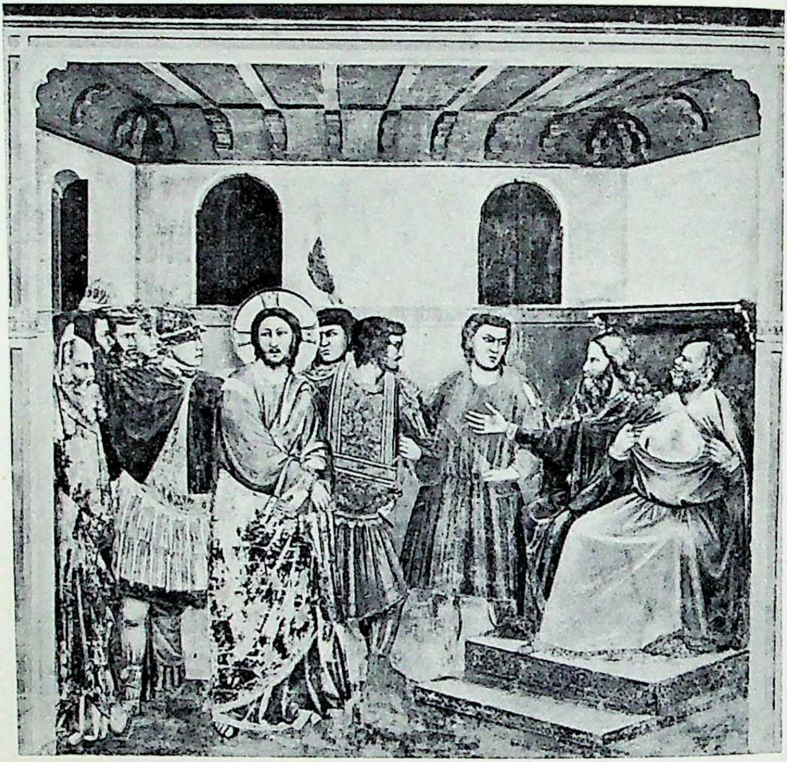

Plate 136. CHRIST BEFORE CAIAPHAS, Padua, Arena Chapel

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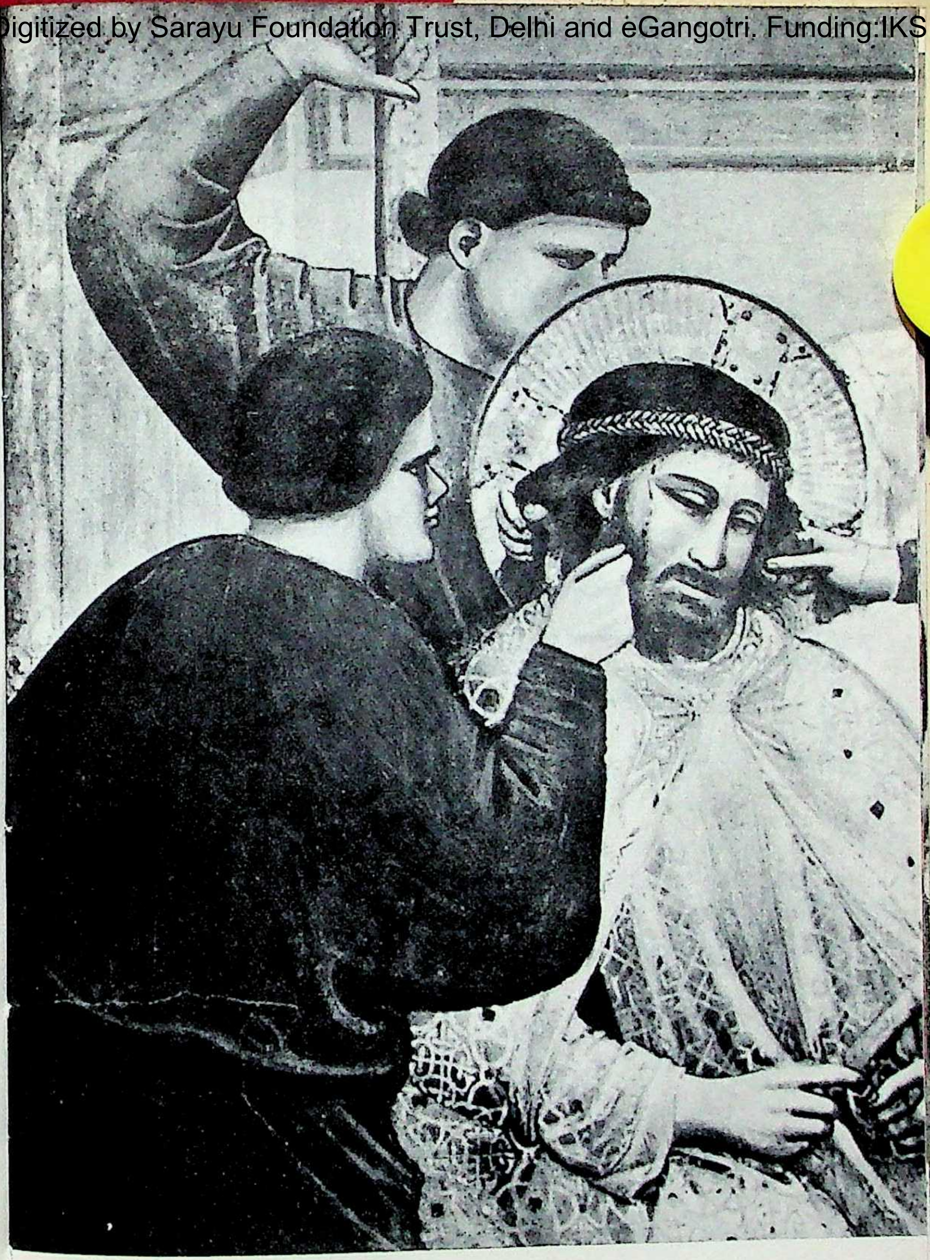

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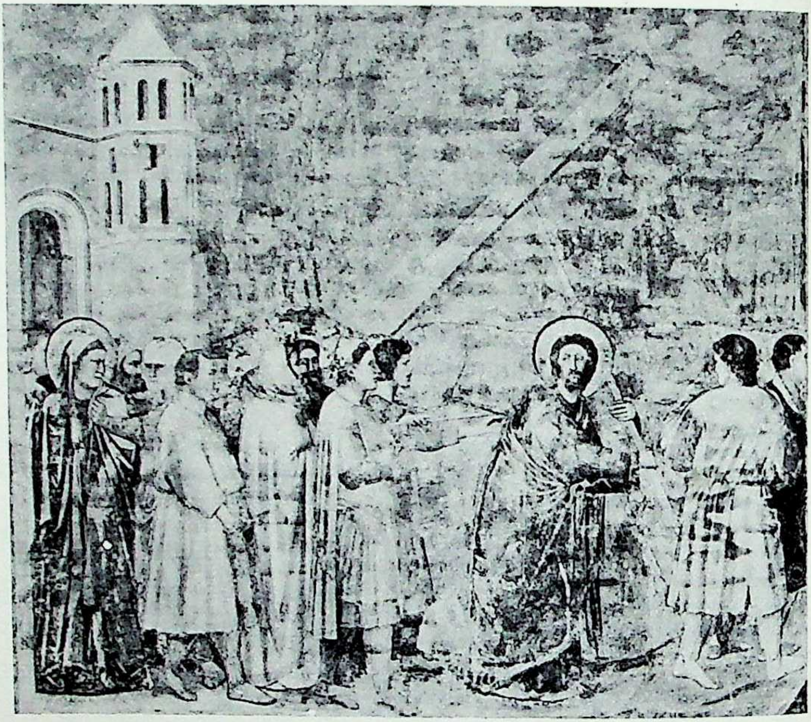

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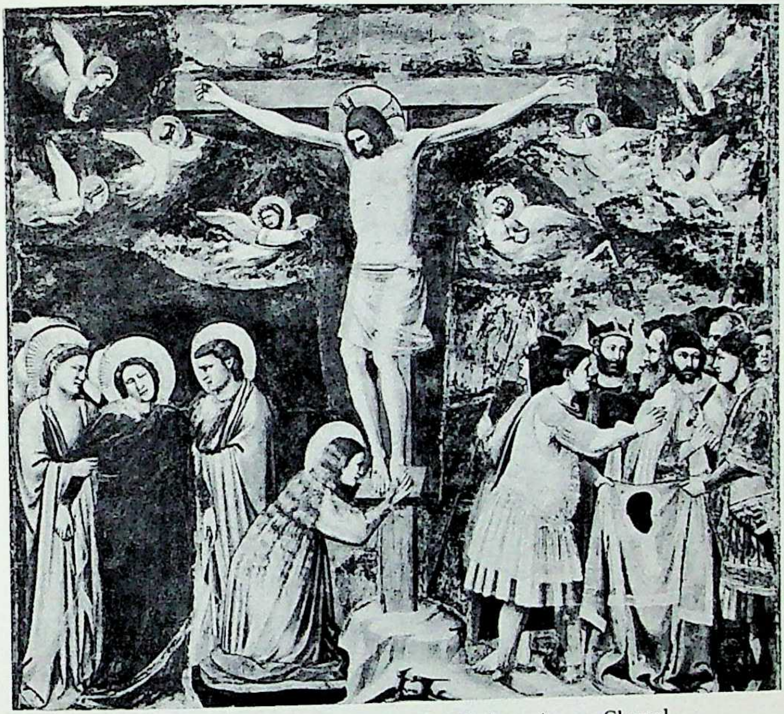

Plate 141. THE CRUCIFIXION, Padua, Arena Chapel

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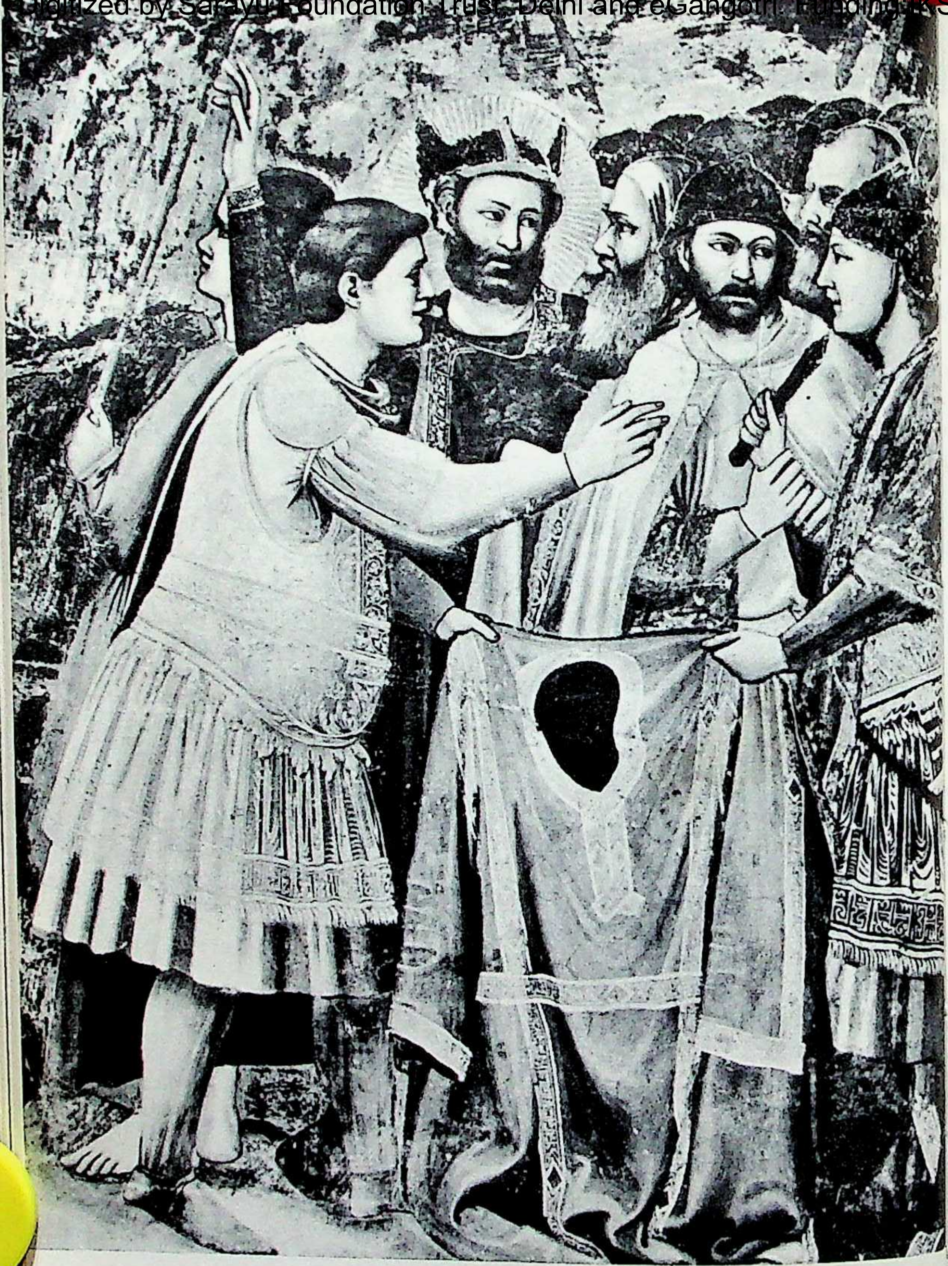

Plate 142. *Detail of plate 141*

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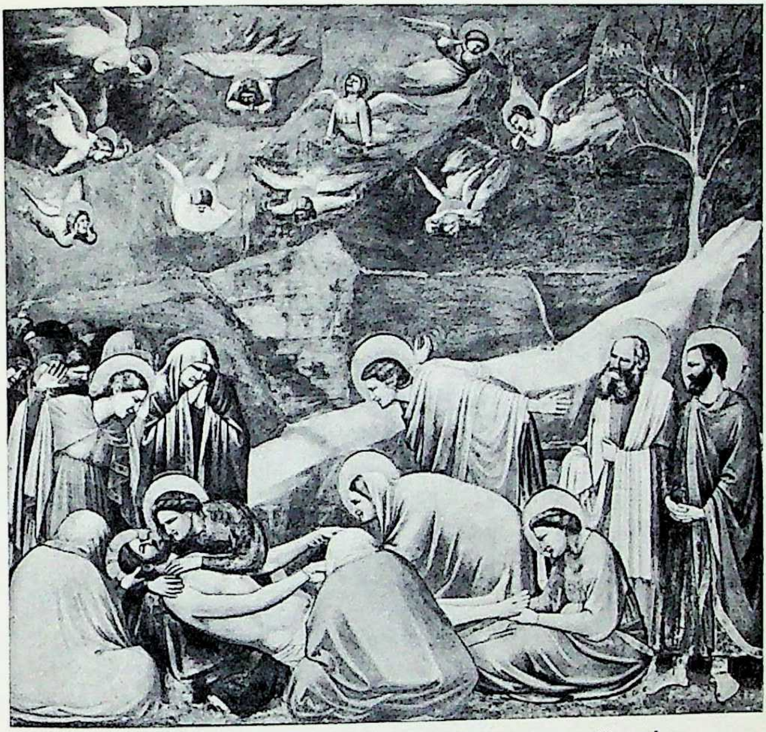

Plate 143. THE LAMENTATION, Padua, Arena Chapel

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Plate 144. *Detail of plate 143*

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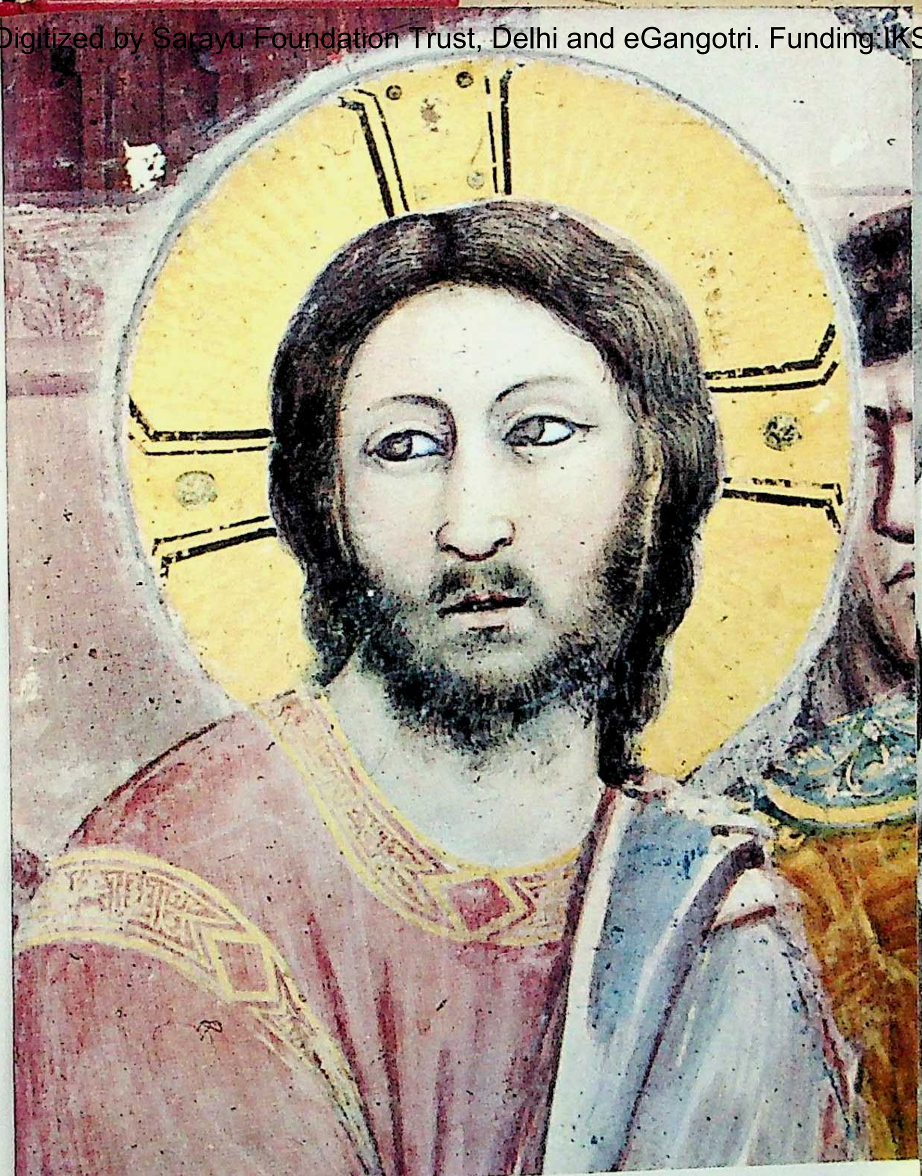

CHRIST BEFORE CAIAPHAS
Padua, Arena Chapel
*(detail of plate 136)*

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Plate 145. *Detail of plate 143*

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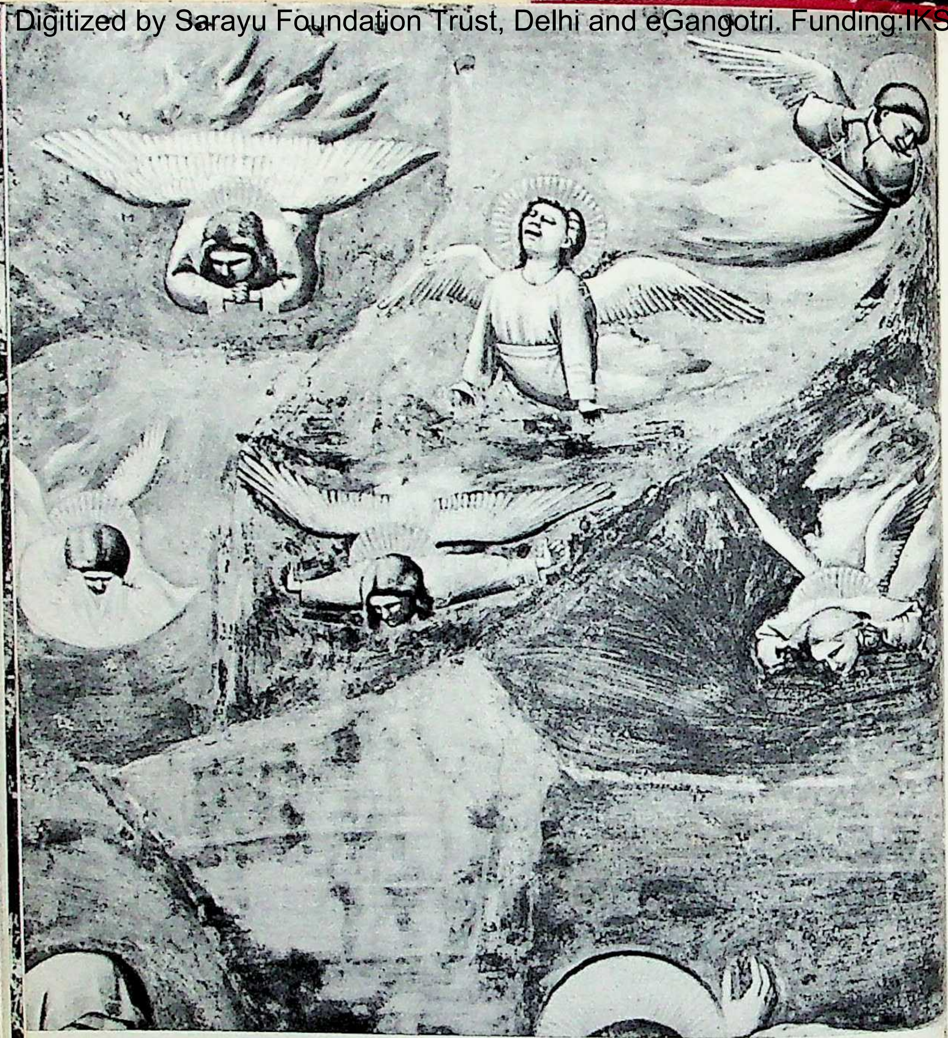

Plate 146. *Detail of plate 143*

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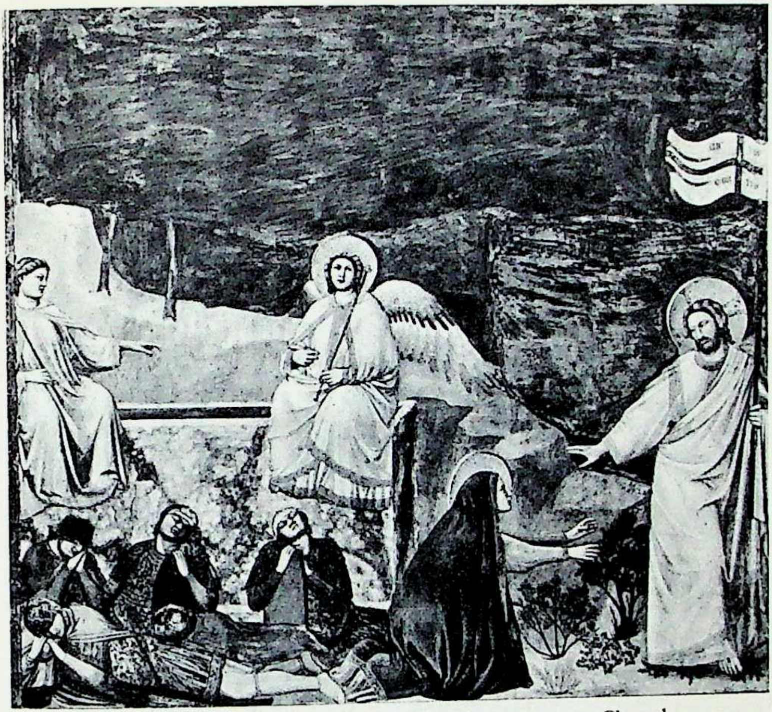

Plate 147. NOLI ME TANGERE, Padua, Arena Chapel

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Plate 148. *Detail of plate 147*

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Plate 148. *Detail of plate 147*

Plate 149. *Detail of plate 147*

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Plate 150. THE ASCENSION, Padua, Arena Chapel

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Plate 151. *Detail of plate 150*

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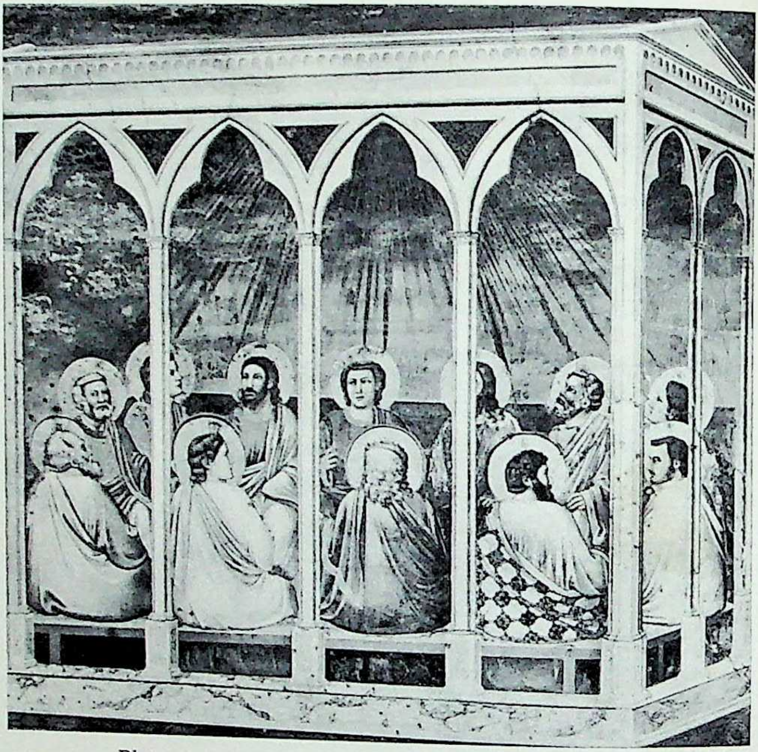

Plate 152. THE PENTECOST, Padua, Arena Chapel

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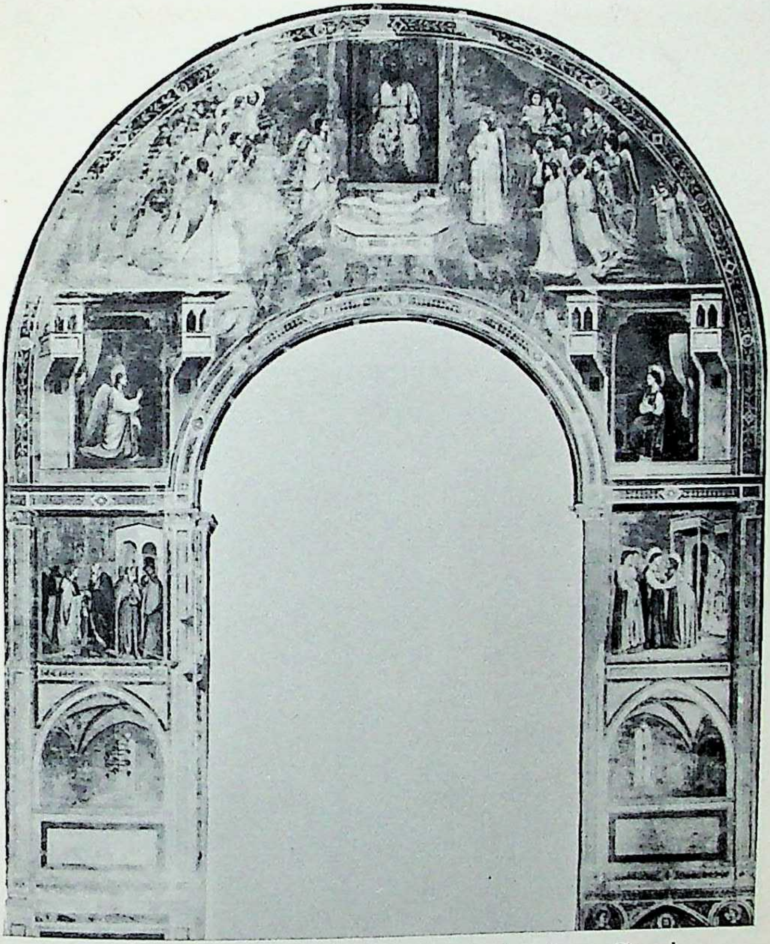

Plate 153. THE TRIUMPHAL ARCH, Padua, Arena Chapel

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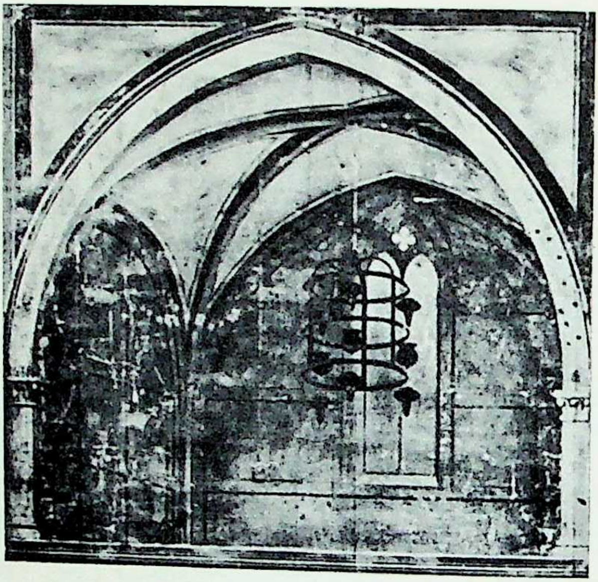

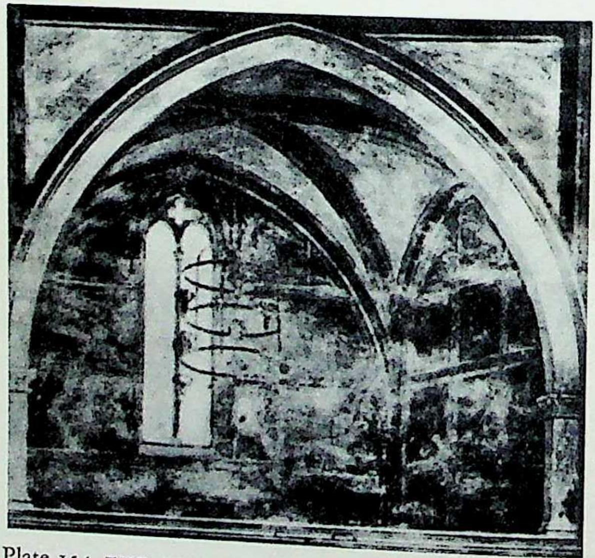

Plate 154. THE SECRET CHAPELS, Padua, Arena Chapel

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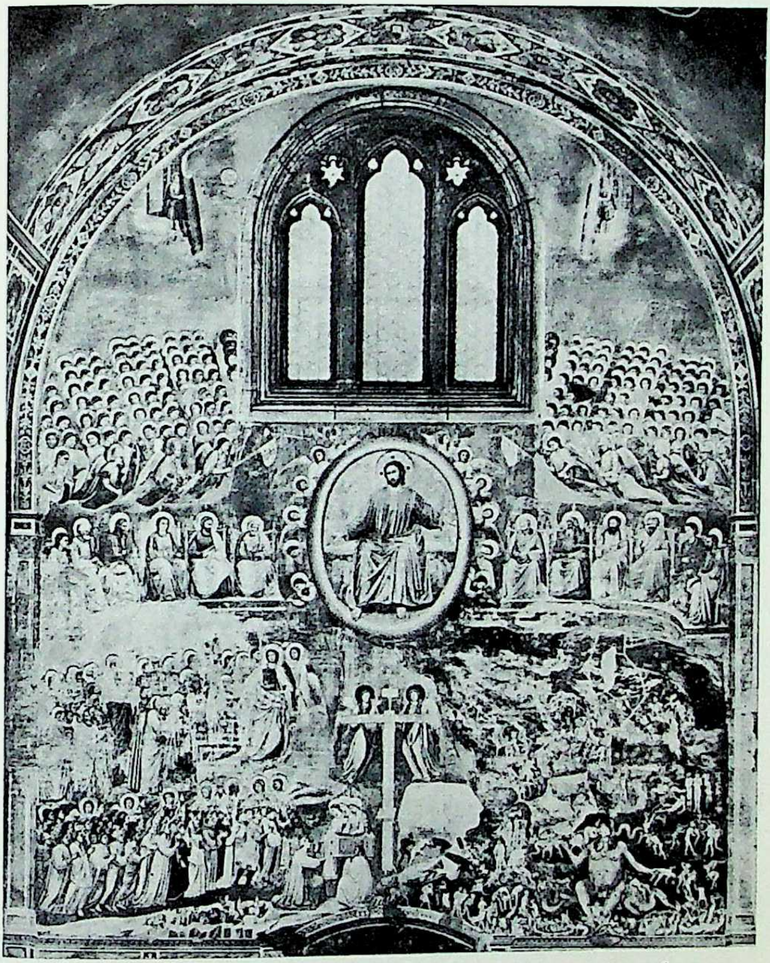

Plate 155. THE LAST JUDGMENT, Padua, Arena Chapel

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Plate 156. *Detail of plate 155*

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Plate 157. *Detail of plate 155*

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Plate 158. *Detail of plate 155*

Plate 159. *Detail of plate 155*

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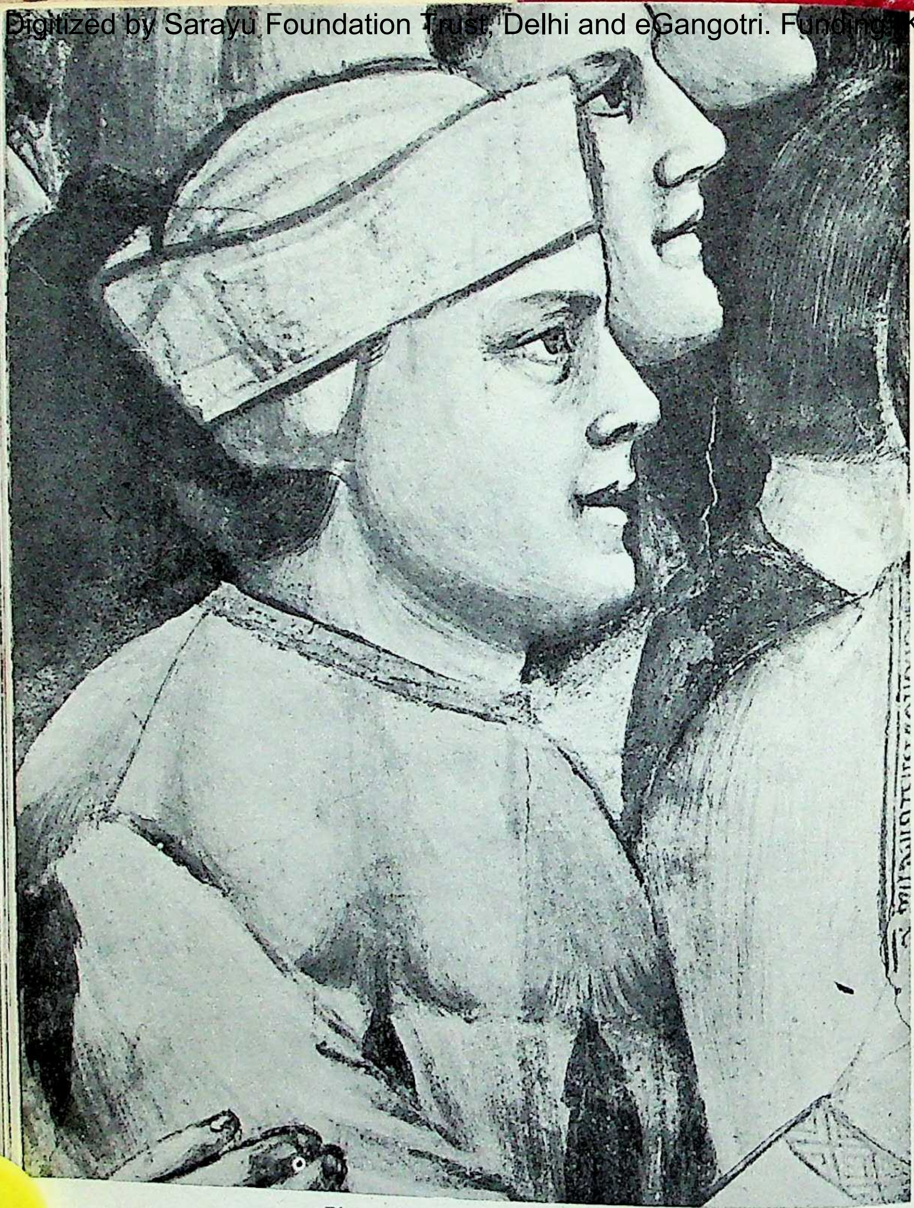

Plate 160. *Detail of plate 158*

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MADONNA AND CHILD IN GLORY
Florence, Uffizi
*(detail of plate 185)*

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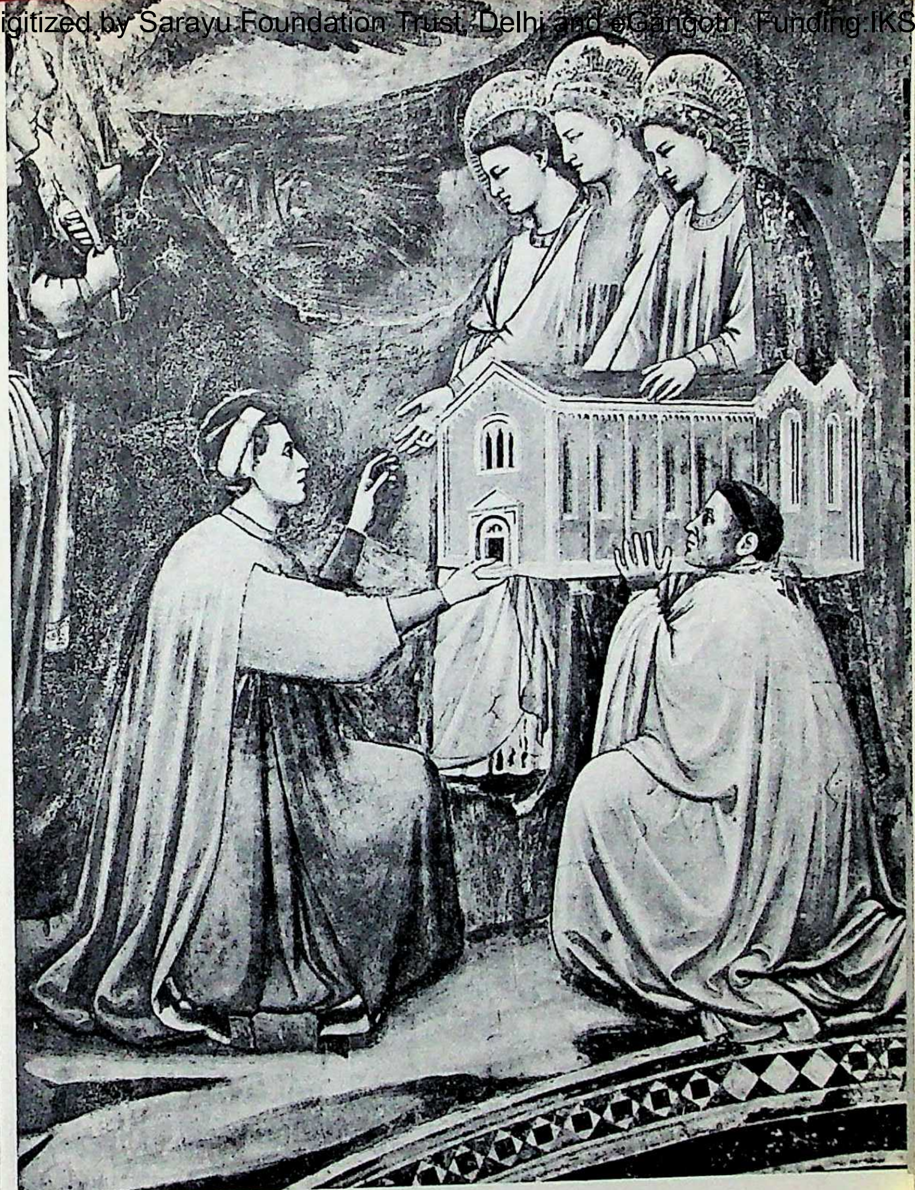

Plate 161. *Detail of plate 155*

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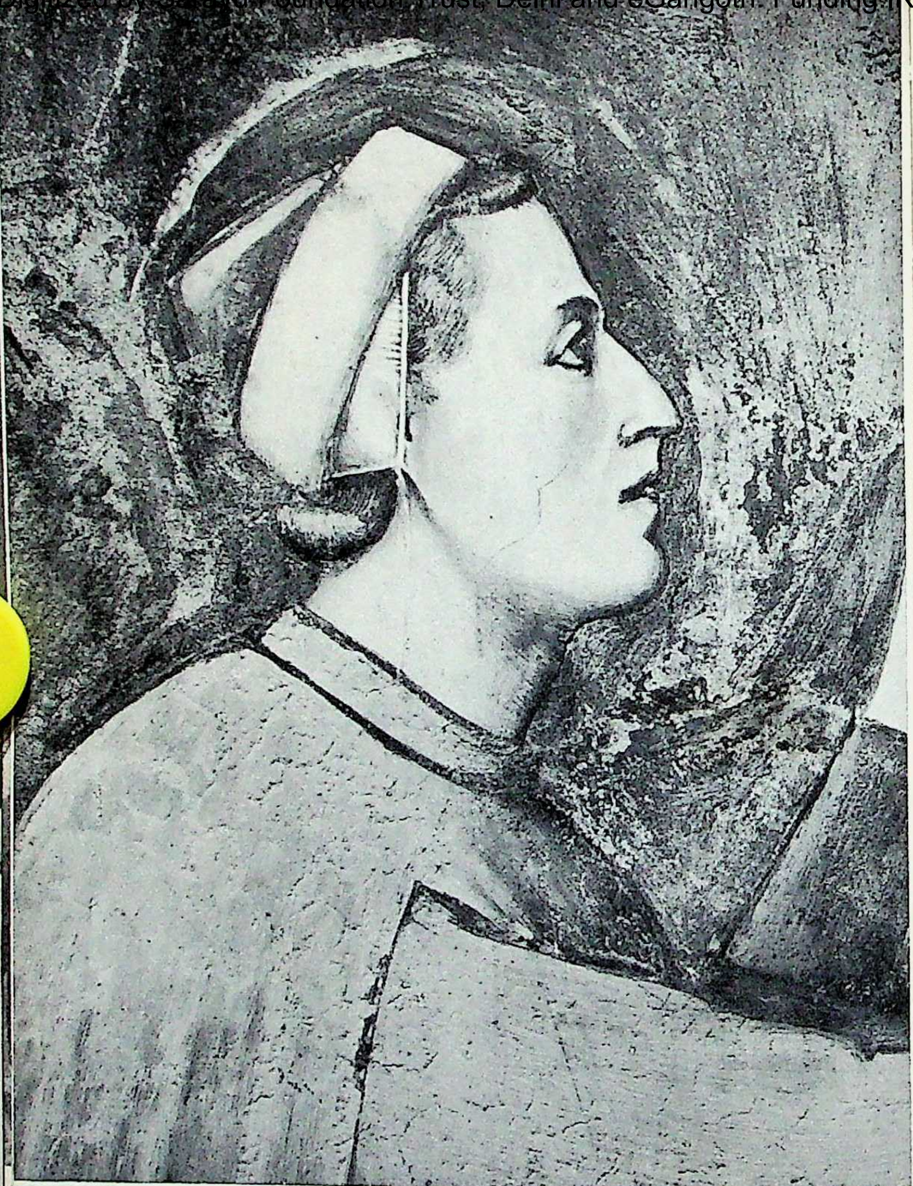

Plate 162. *Detail of plate 161*

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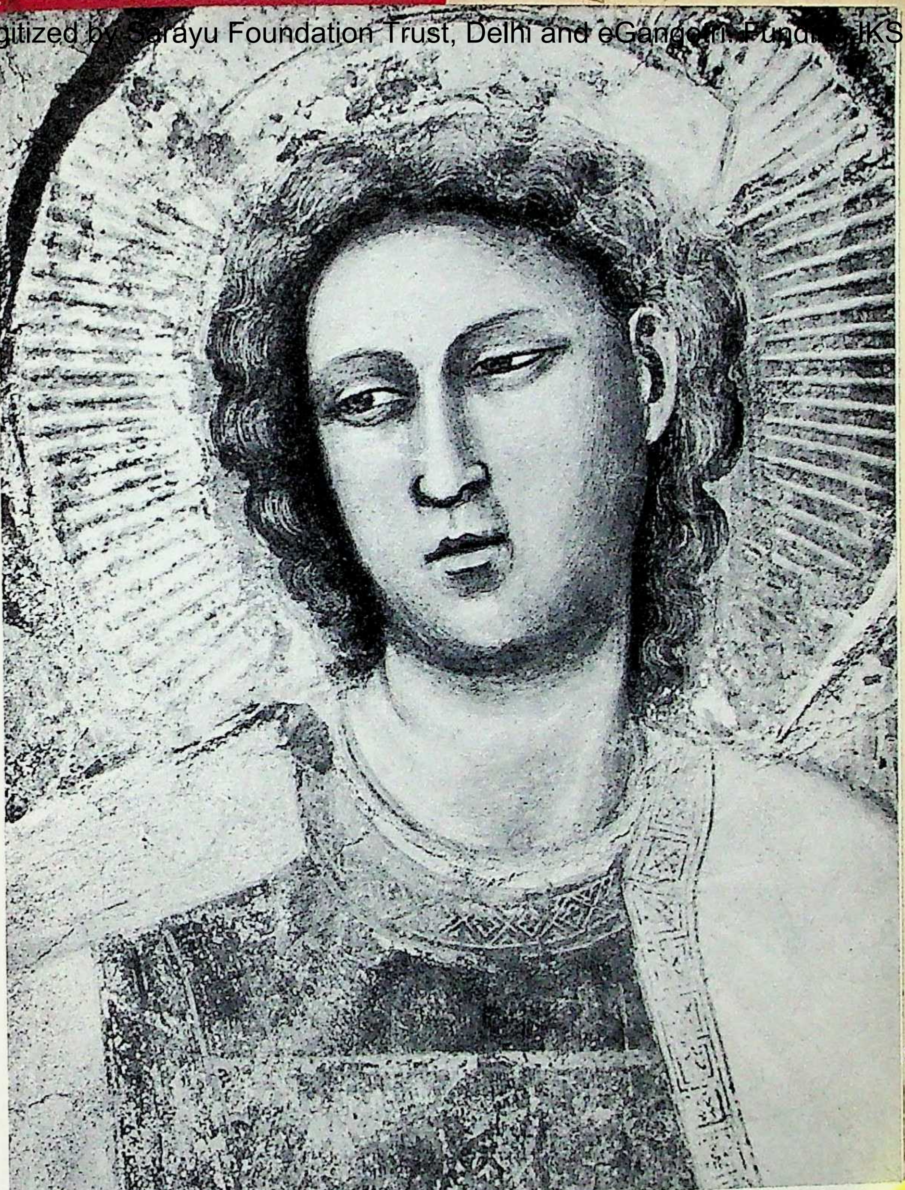

Plate 163. *Detail of plate 155*

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Plate 164. *Detail of plate 155*

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Plate 165. *Detail of plate 164*

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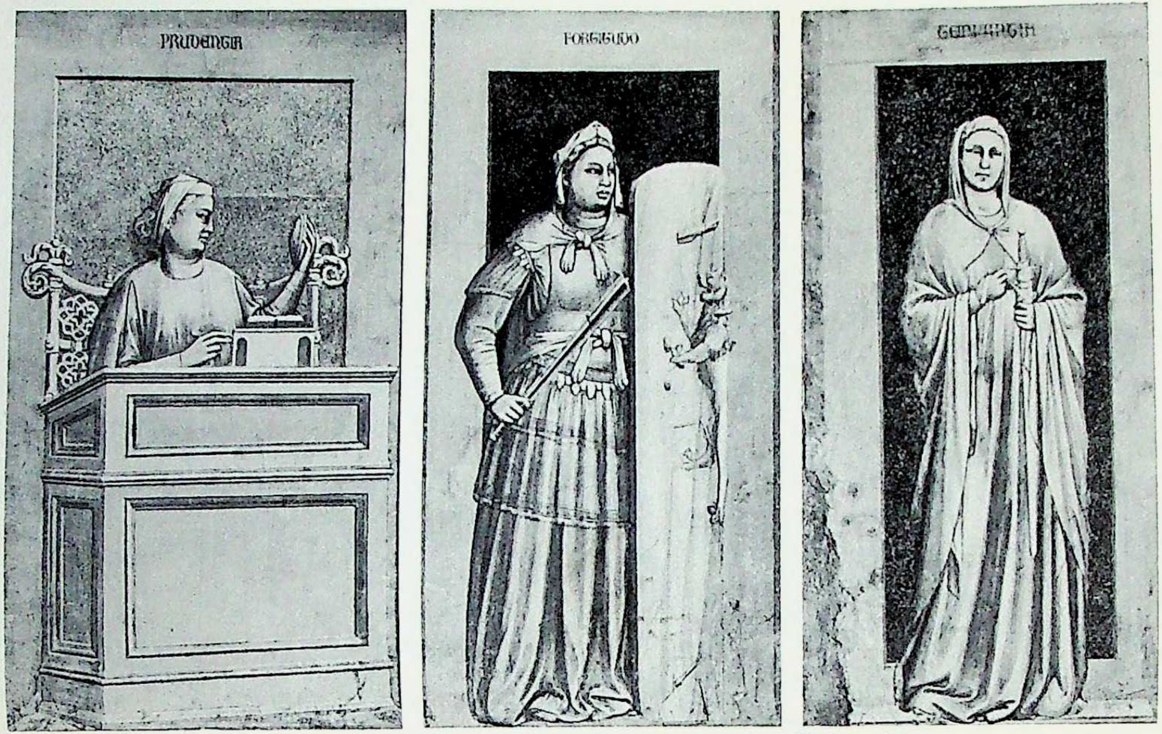


Plate 166. PRUDENCE, FORTITUDE, TEMPERANCE, Padua, Arena Chapel

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Chapel

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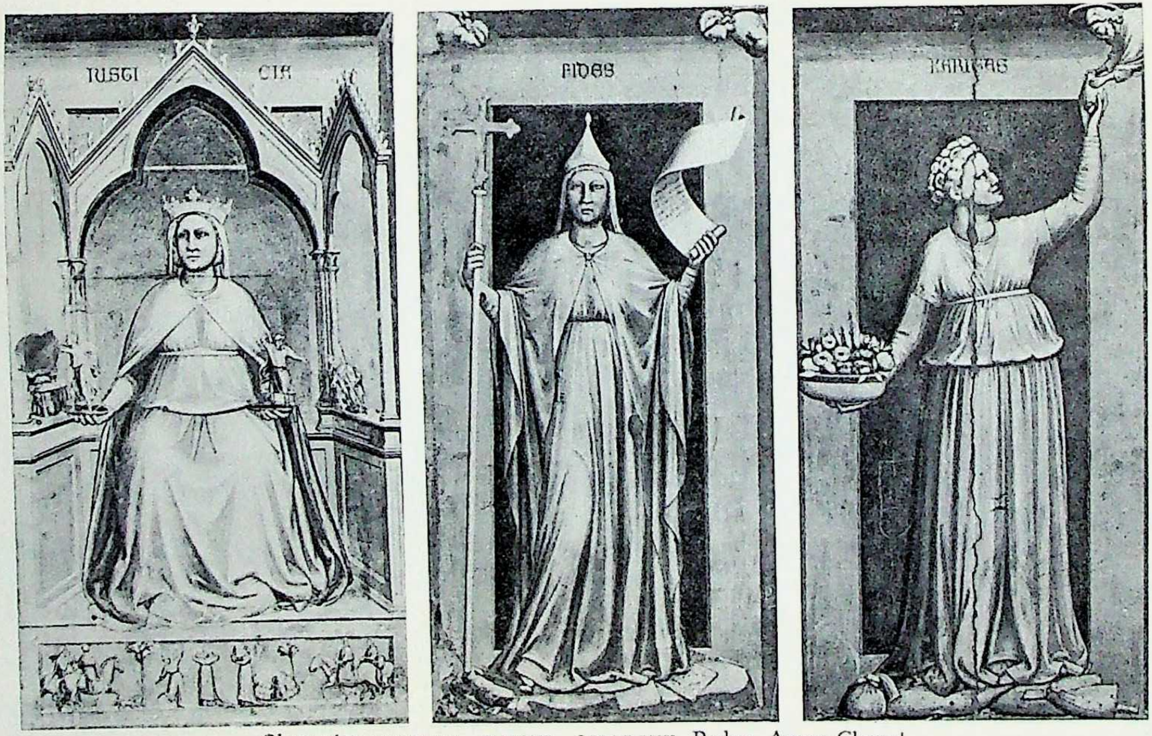


Plate 167. JUSTICE, FAITH, CHARITY, Padua, Arena Chapel

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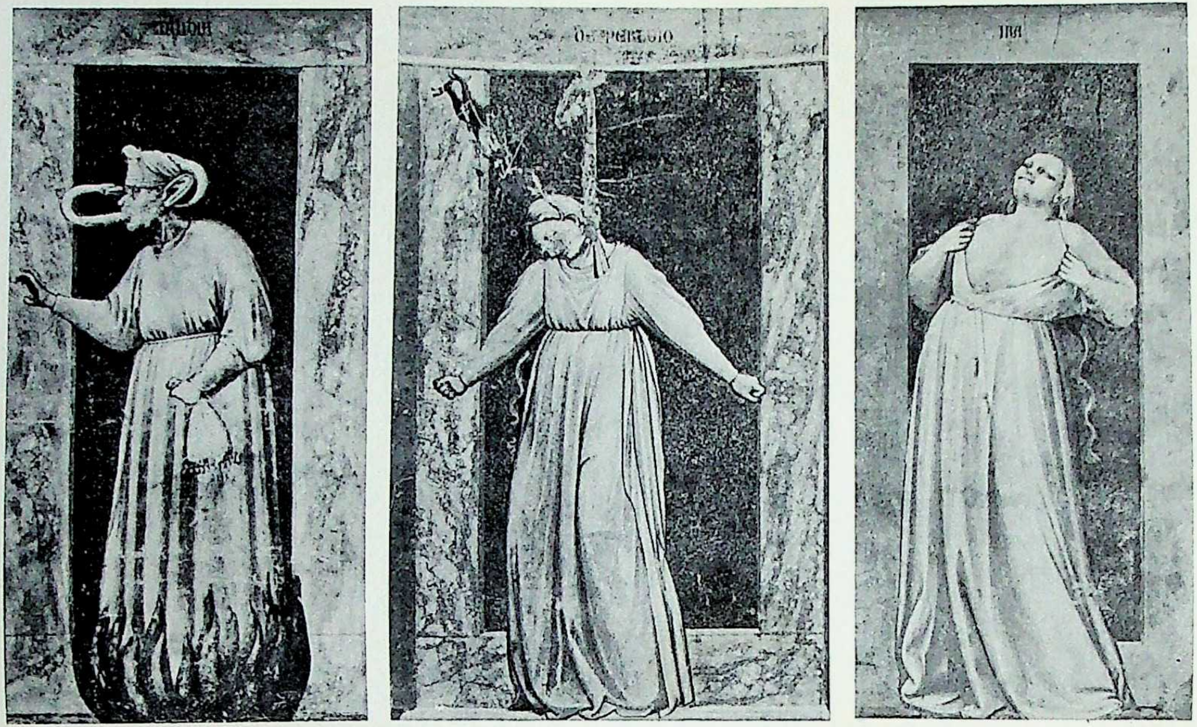

Plate 168. ENVY, DESPAIR, WRATH, Padua, Arena Chapel

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Plate 169. INJUSTICE, INCONSTANCY, FOLLY, Padua, Arena Chapel

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Plate 170. HOPE, Padua, Arena Chapel

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Plate 171. INFIDELITY, OR IDOLATRY, Padua, Arena Chapel

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Plate 172. MEDALLION OF CHRIST, Padua, Arena Chapel

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Plate 173. MEDALLION OF THE VIRGIN AND CHILD; Padua, Arena Chapel

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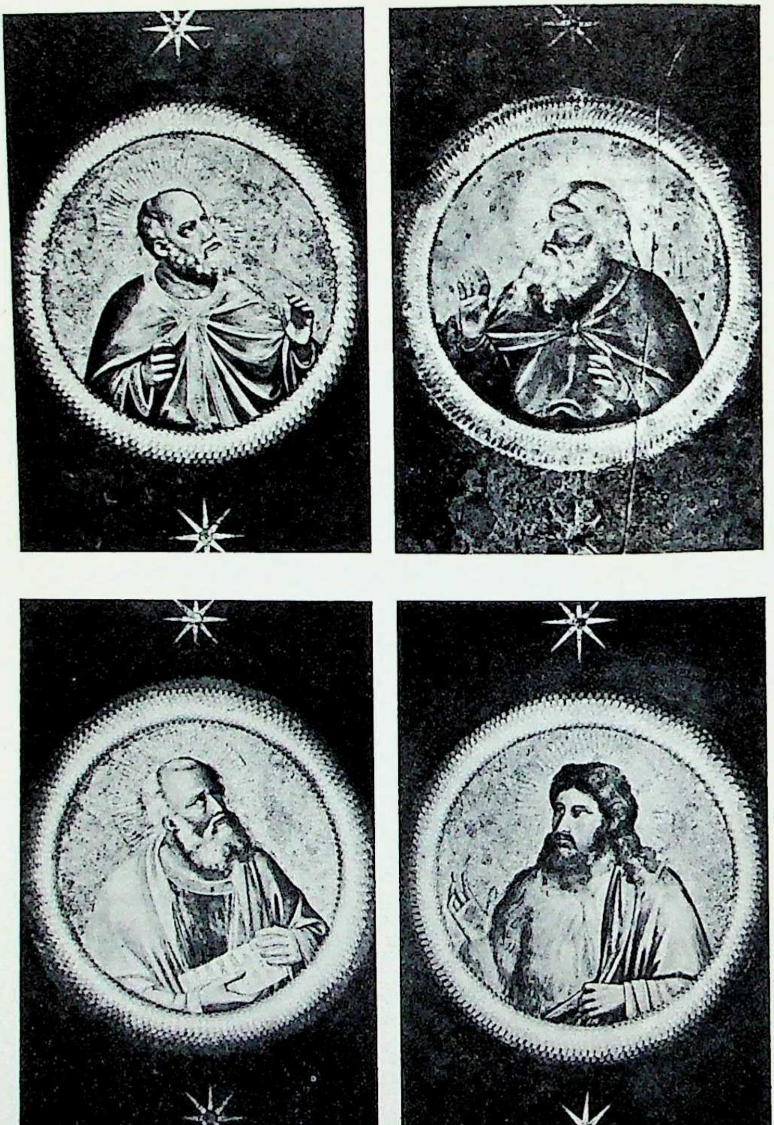

Plate 174. MEDALLIONS OF THE THREE PROPHETS AND ST JOHN THE BAPTIST, Padua, Arena Chapel

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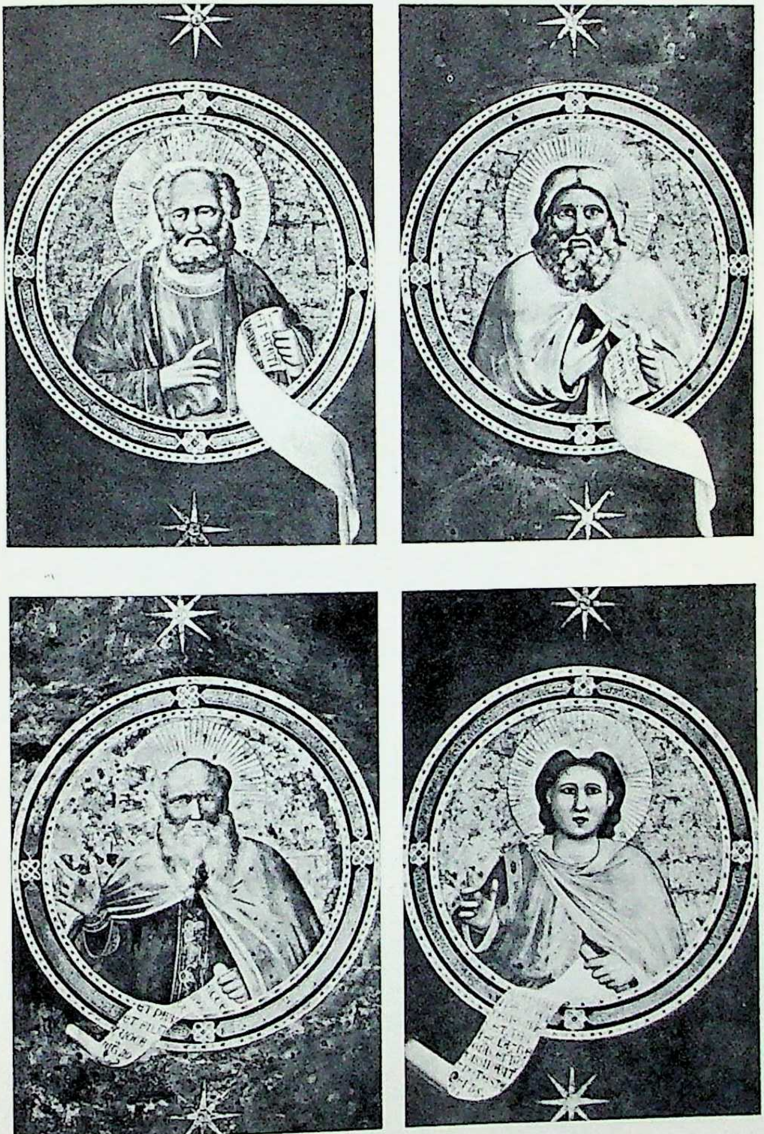

Plate 175. MEDALLIONS OF MALACHI, BARUCH, ISAIAH AND DANIEL, Padua, Arena Chapel

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Plate 176. ORNAMENTAL PARTITIONS, Padua, Arena Chapel

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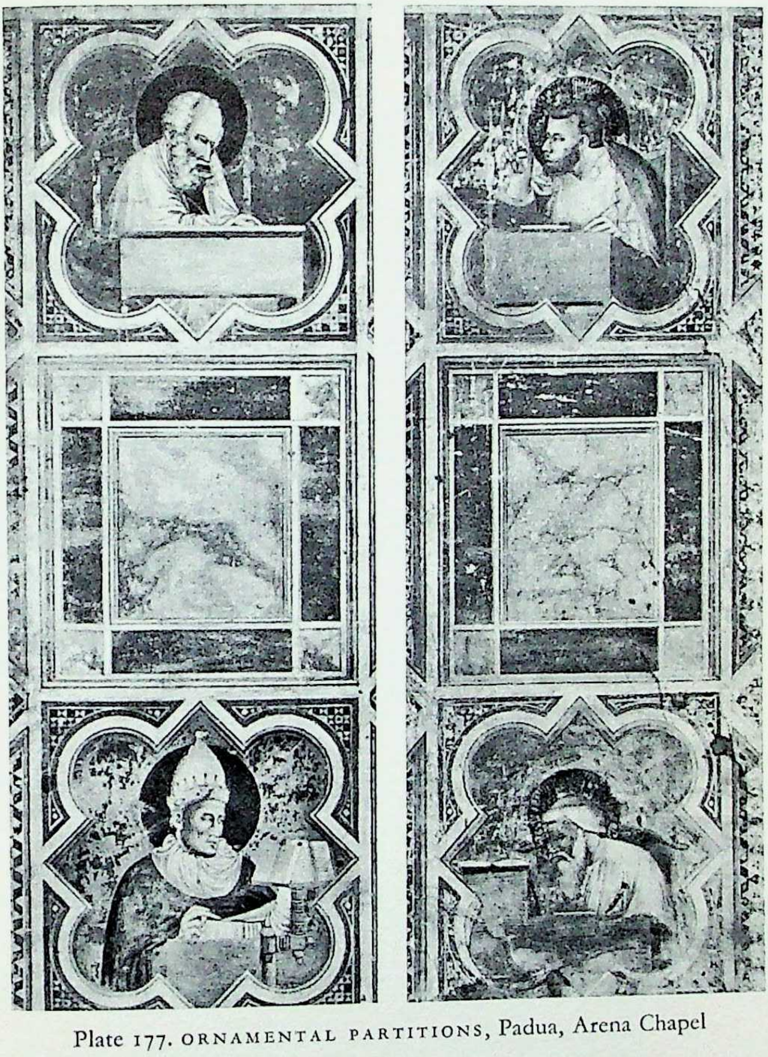

Plate 177. ORNAMENTAL PARTITIONS, Padua, Arena Chapel

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Plate 178. ORNAMENTAL PARTITIONS, Padua, Arena Chapel

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Plate 179. ANGELS, Boville Ernica, Church of San Pietro Ispana *and* Rome, Musco Petriano

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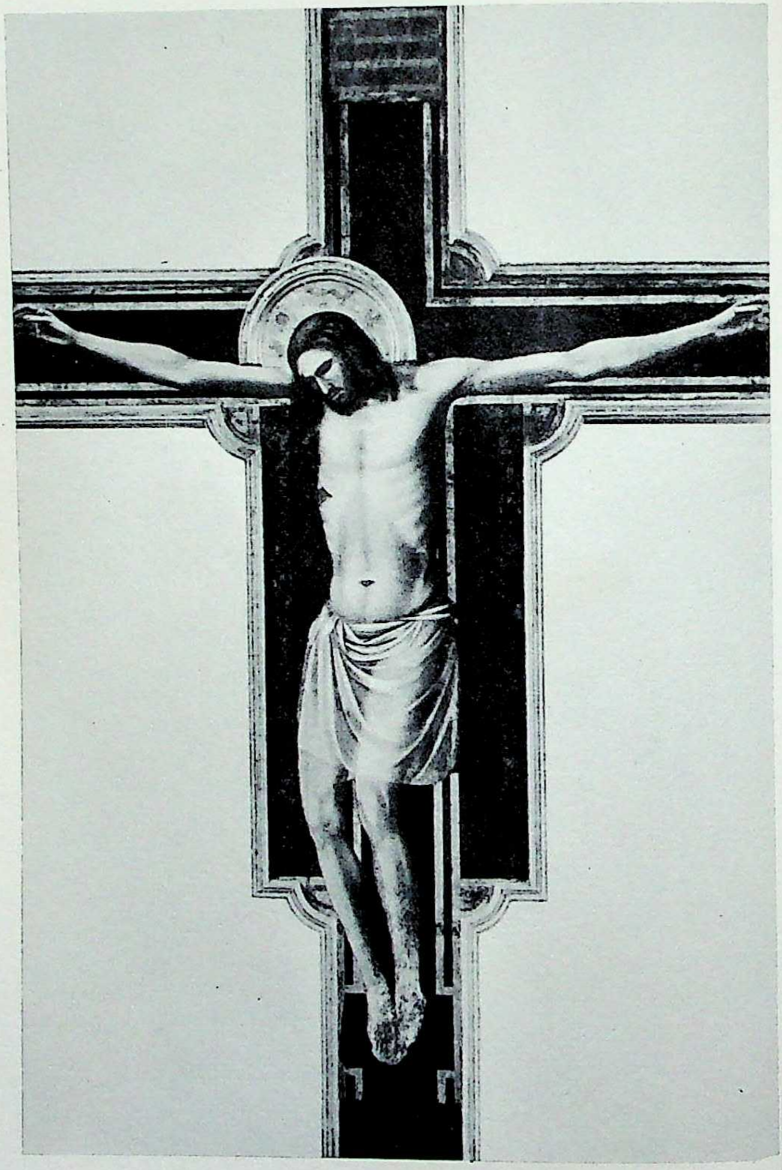

Plate 180. CRUCIFIX, Rimini, Tempio Malatestiano

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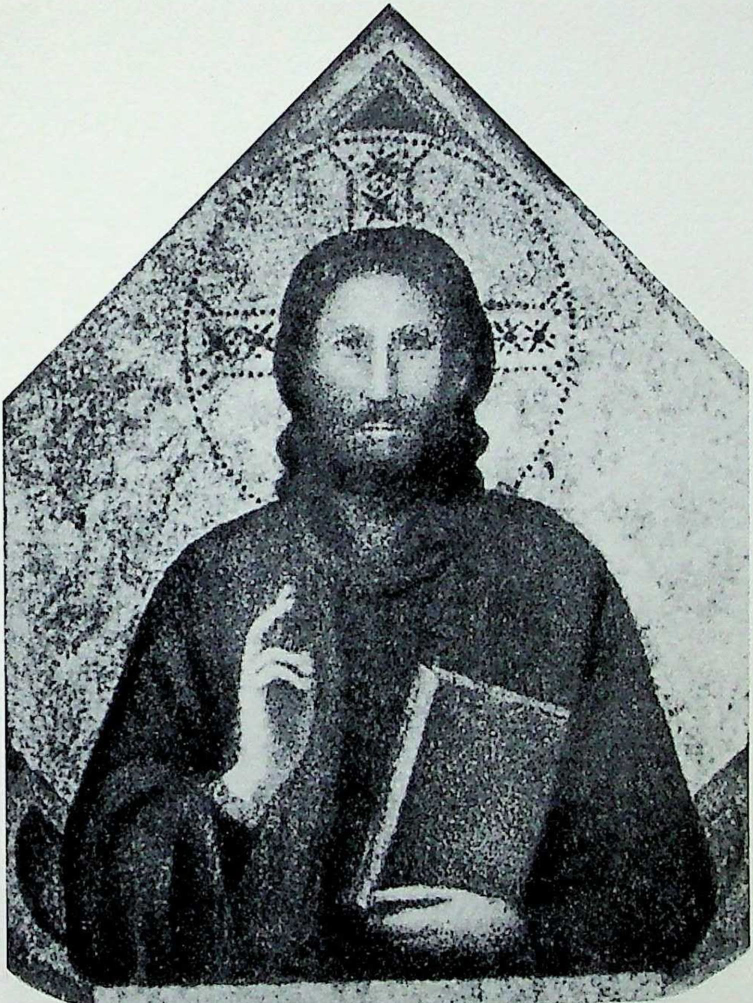

Plate 181. THE REDEEMER, formerly London, Jekyll Collection

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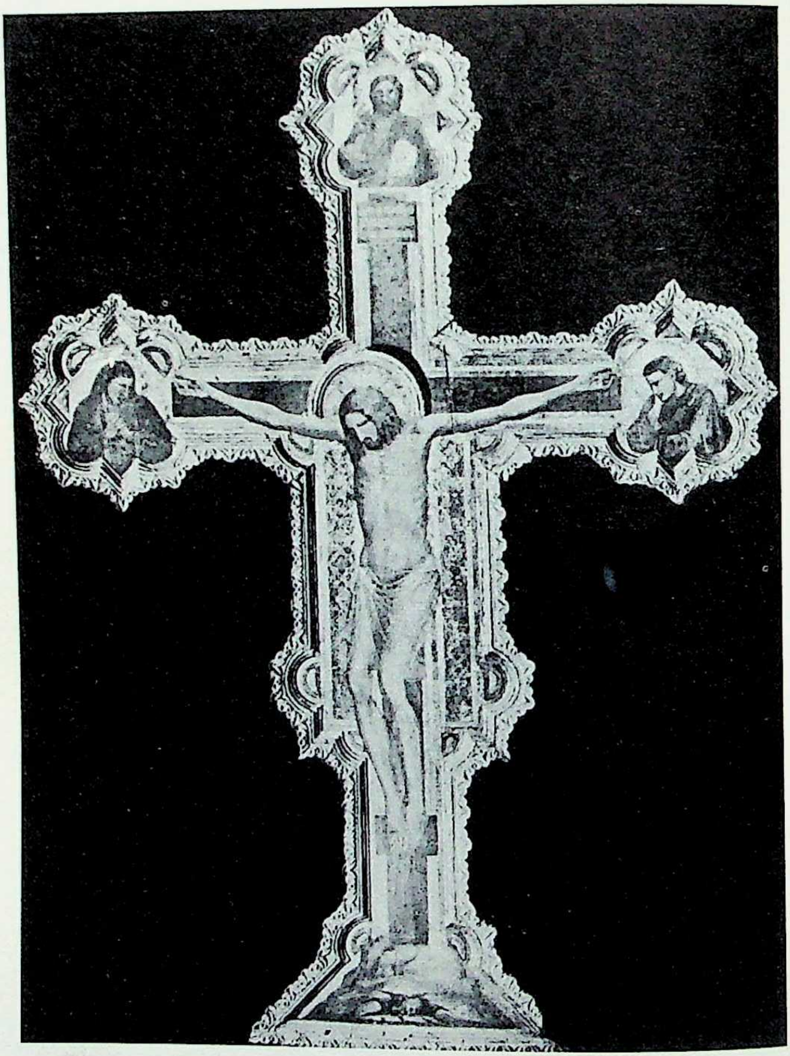

Plate 182. CRUCIFIX, Padua, Arena Chapel

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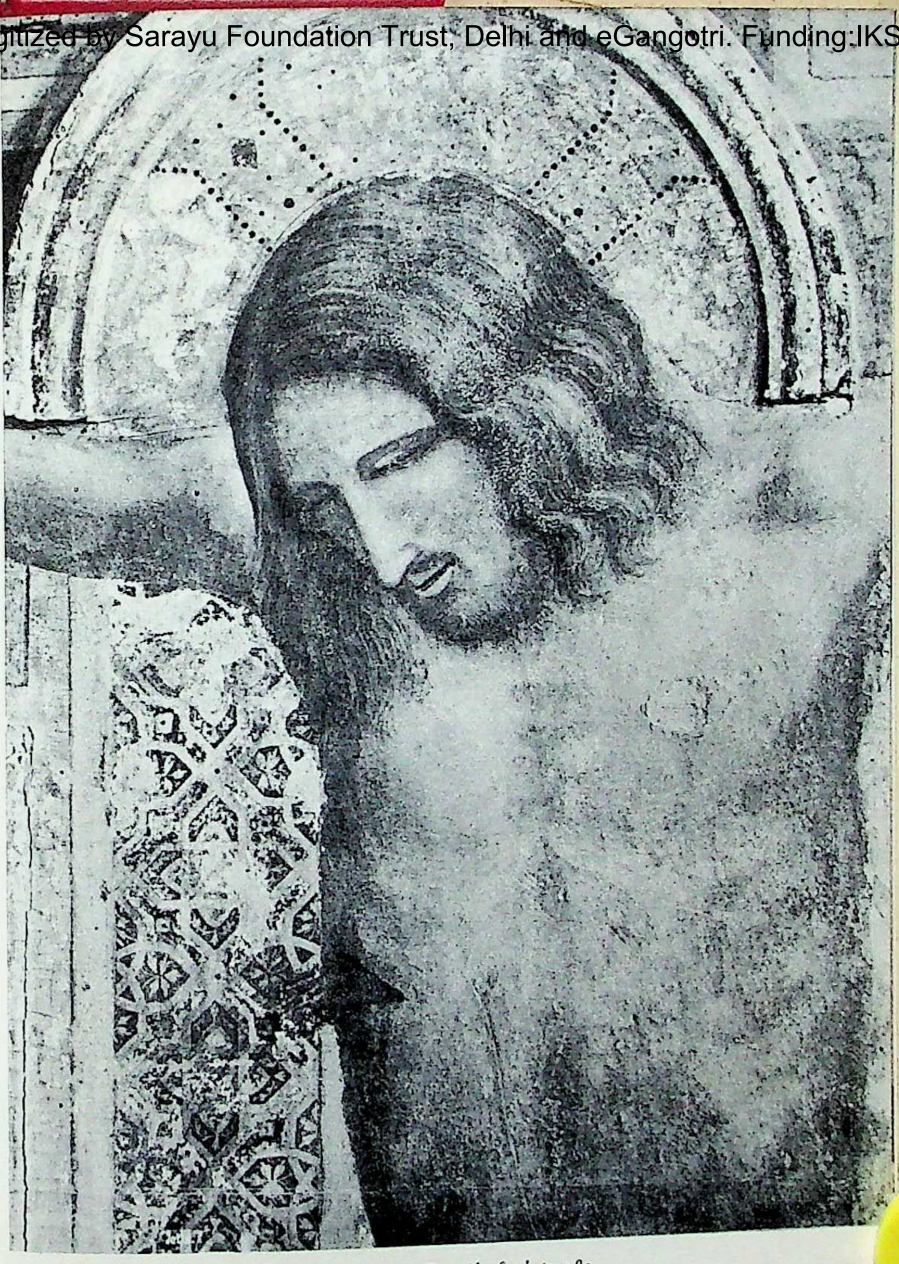

Plate 183. *Detail of plate 182*

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Plate 184. *Detail of plate 182*

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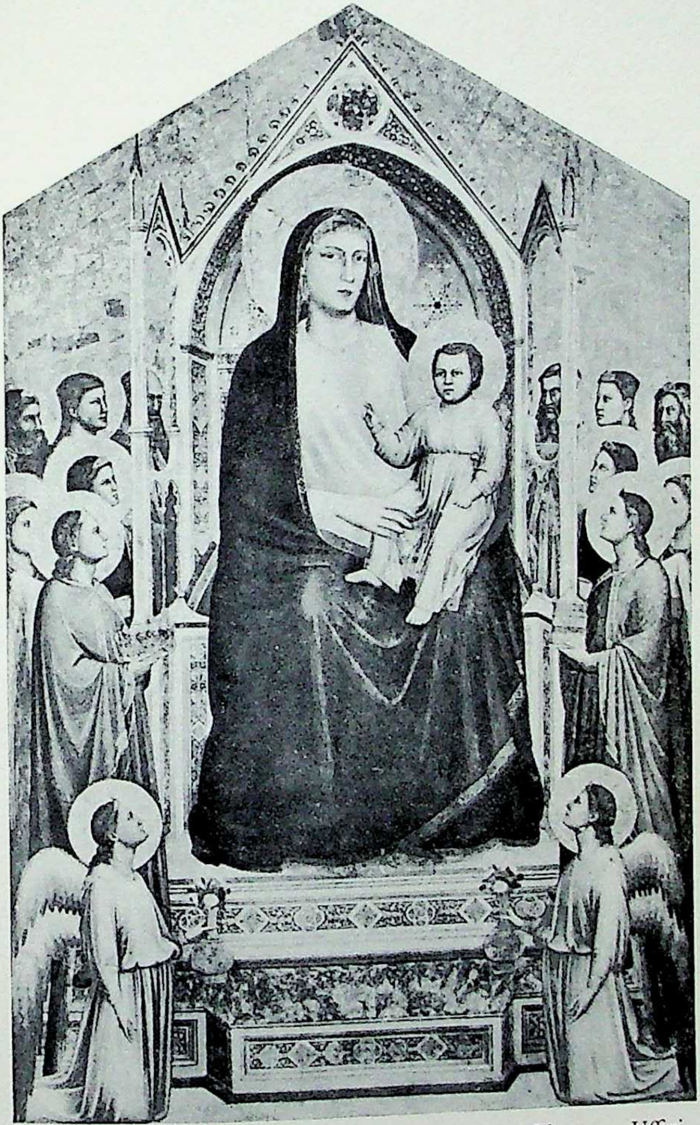

Plate 185. MADONNA AND CHILD IN GLORY, Florence, Uffizi

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Plate 186. *Detail of plate 185*

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Plate 187. *Detail of plate 185*

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Plate 188. *Detail of plate 185*

Plate 189. *Detail of plate 185*

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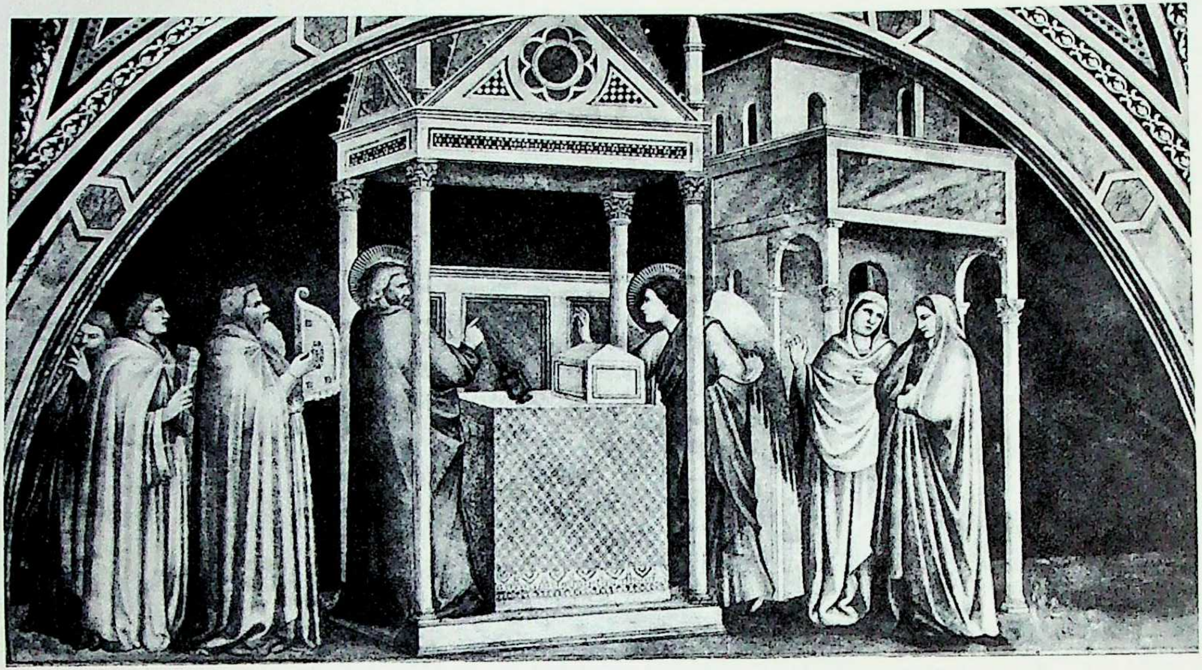

Plate 190. THE ANUNCIATION TO ZACHARIAS, Florence, Basilica of Santa Croce, Peruzzi Chapel

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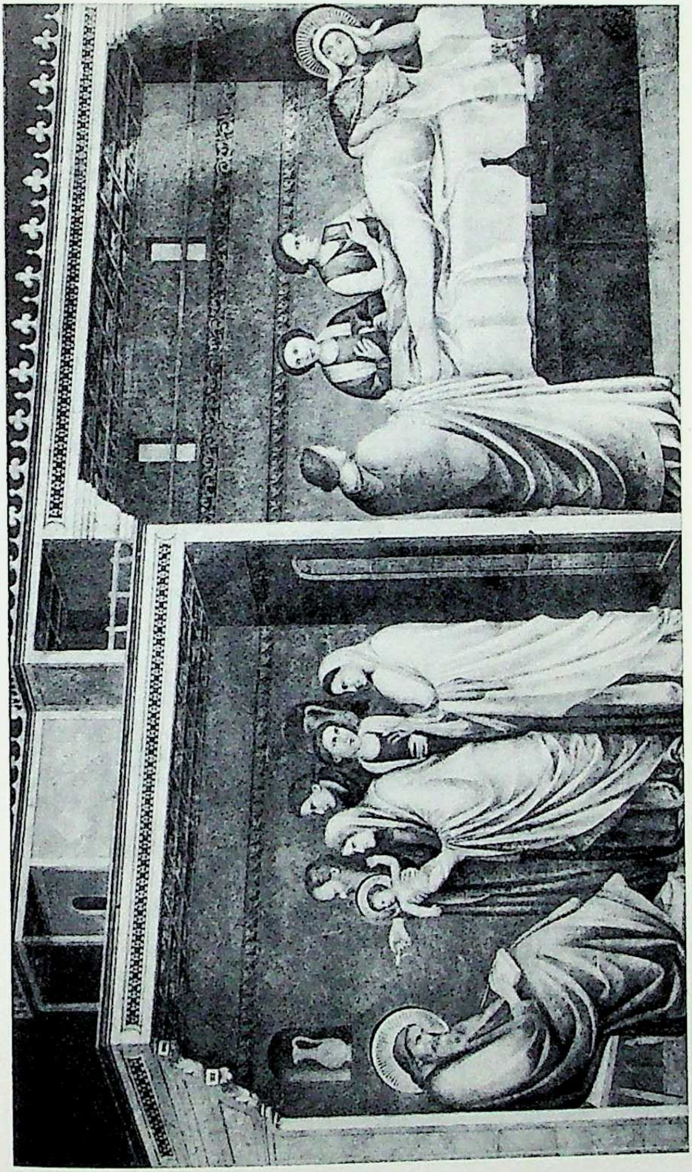

Plate 191. THE BIRTH OF ST JOHN THE BAPTIST, Florence, Basilica of Santa Croce, Peruzzi Chapel

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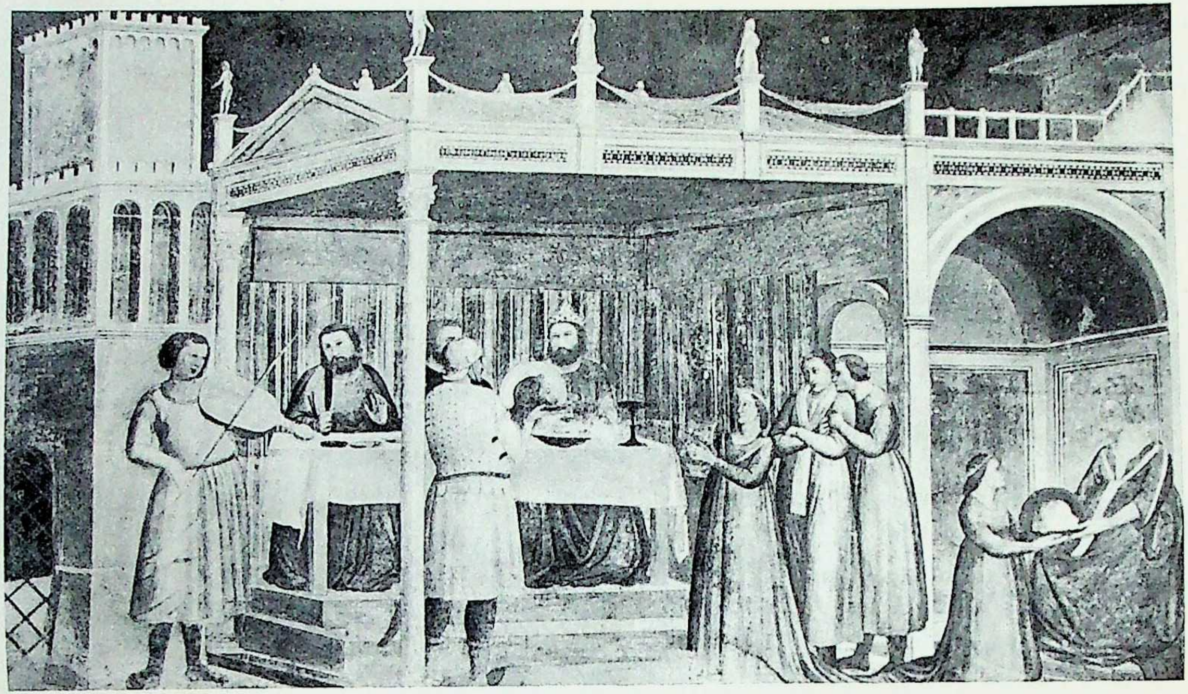

Plate 192. THE DANCE OF SALOME, Florence, Basilica of Santa Croce, Peruzzi Chapel

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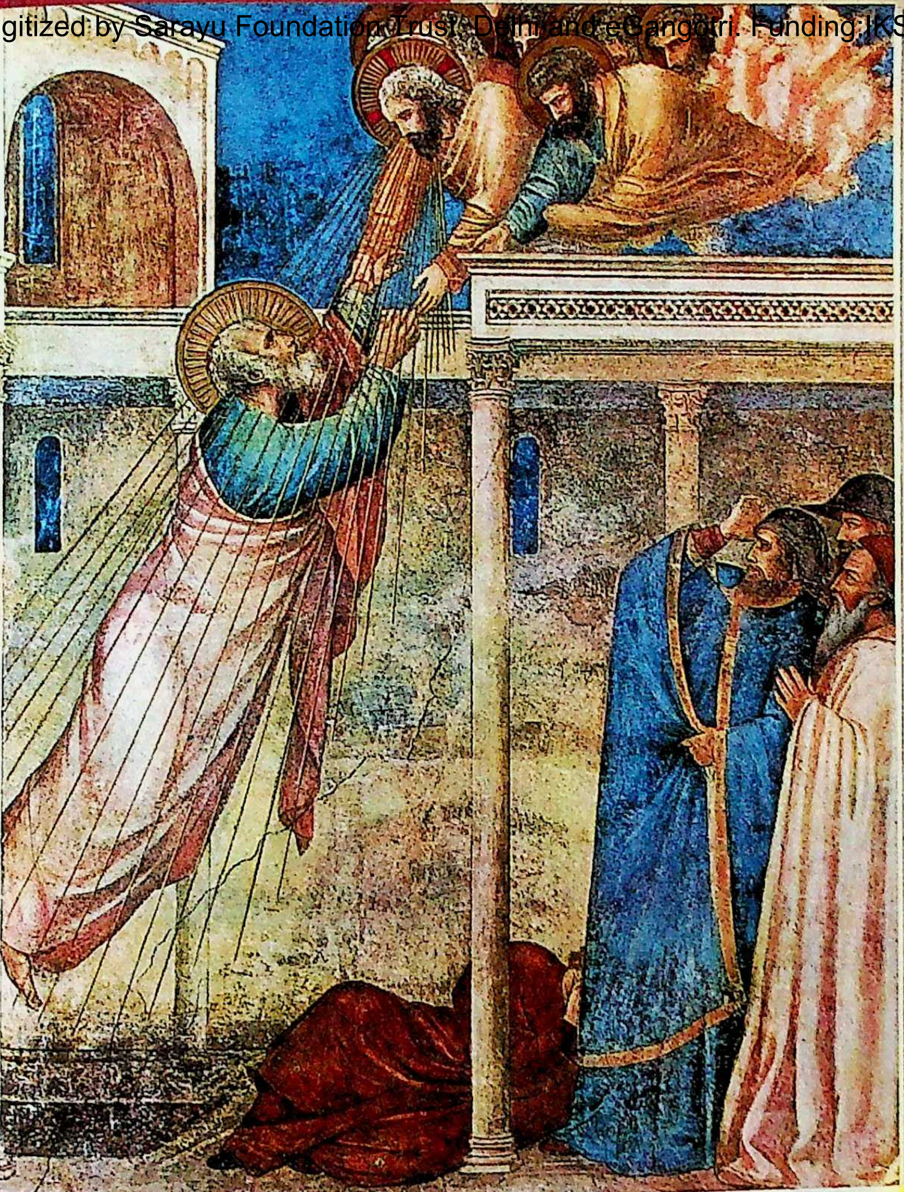

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THE ASCENSION OF ST JOHN THE EVANGELIST
Florence, Basilica of Santa Croce, Peruzzi Chapel
*(detail of plate 195)*

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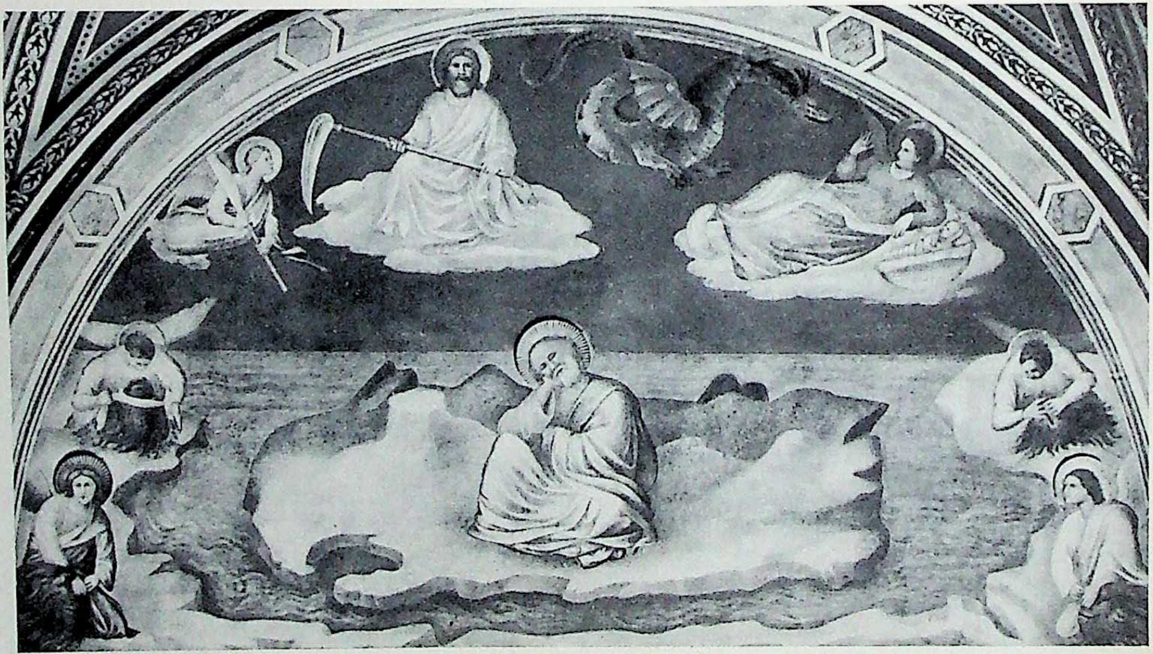

Plate 193. THE VISION ON PATMOS, Florence, Basilica of Santa Croce, Peruzzi Chapel

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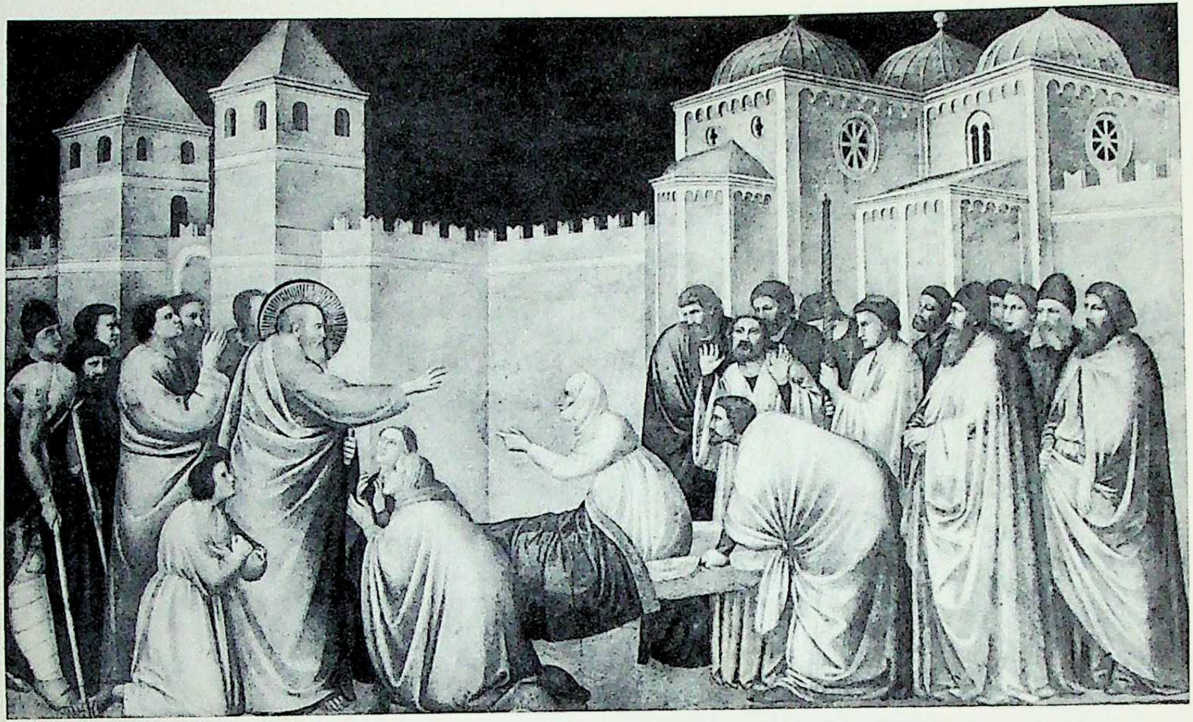

Plate 194. THE RAISING OF DRUSIANA, Florence, Basilica of Santa Croce, Peruzzi Chapel

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Plate 195. THE ASCENSION OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST,
Florence, Basilica of Santa Croce, Peruzzi Chapel

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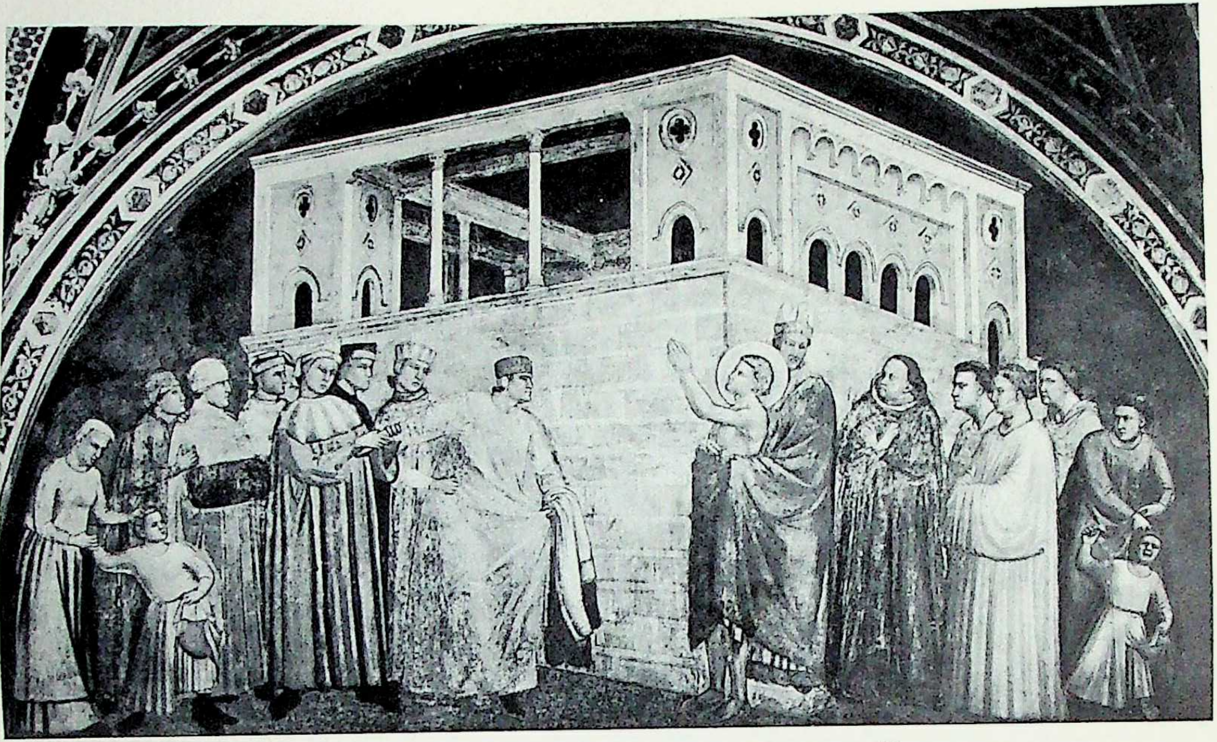

Plate 196. ST FRANCIS RENOUNCING THE WORLD, Florence, Basilica of Santa Croce, Bardi Chapel

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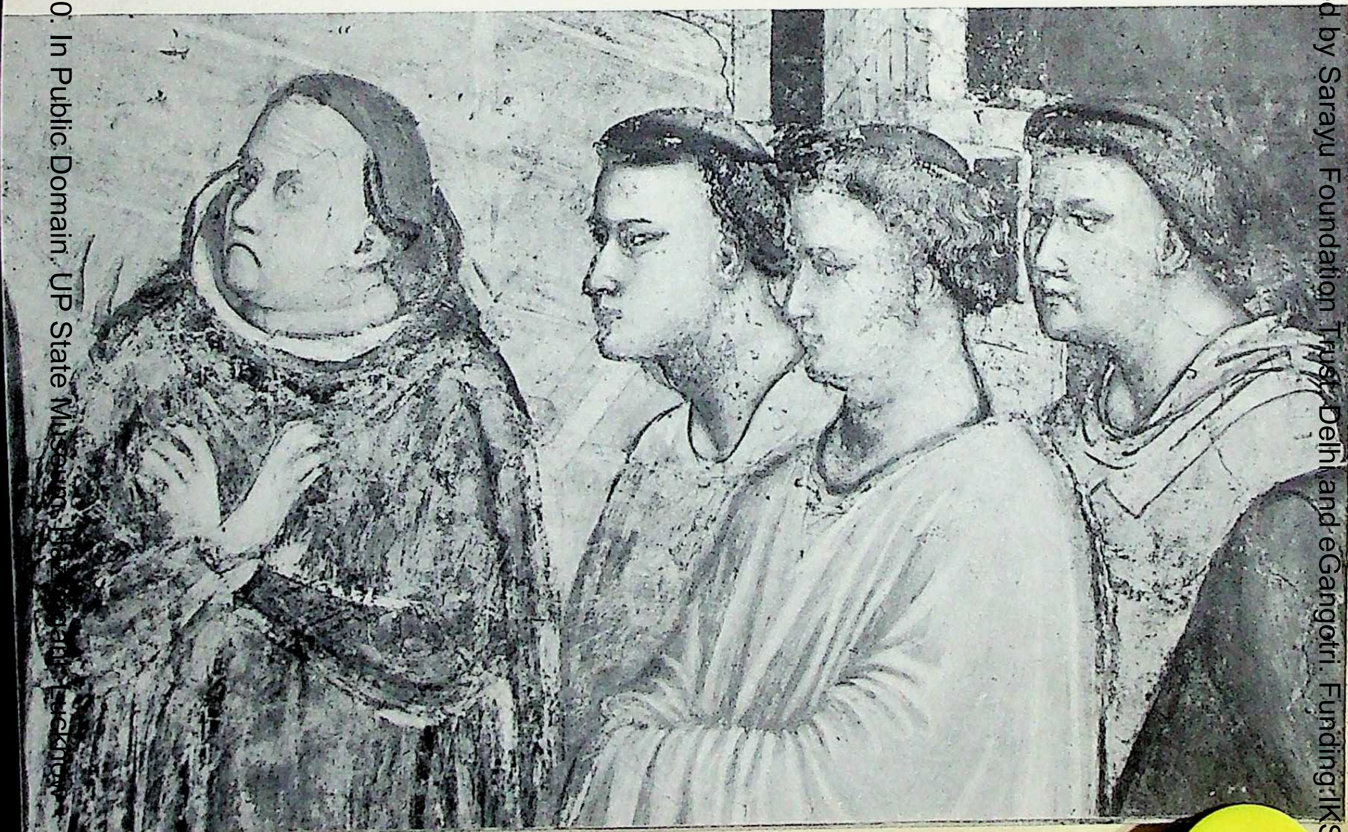
Plate 197. *Detail of plate 196*



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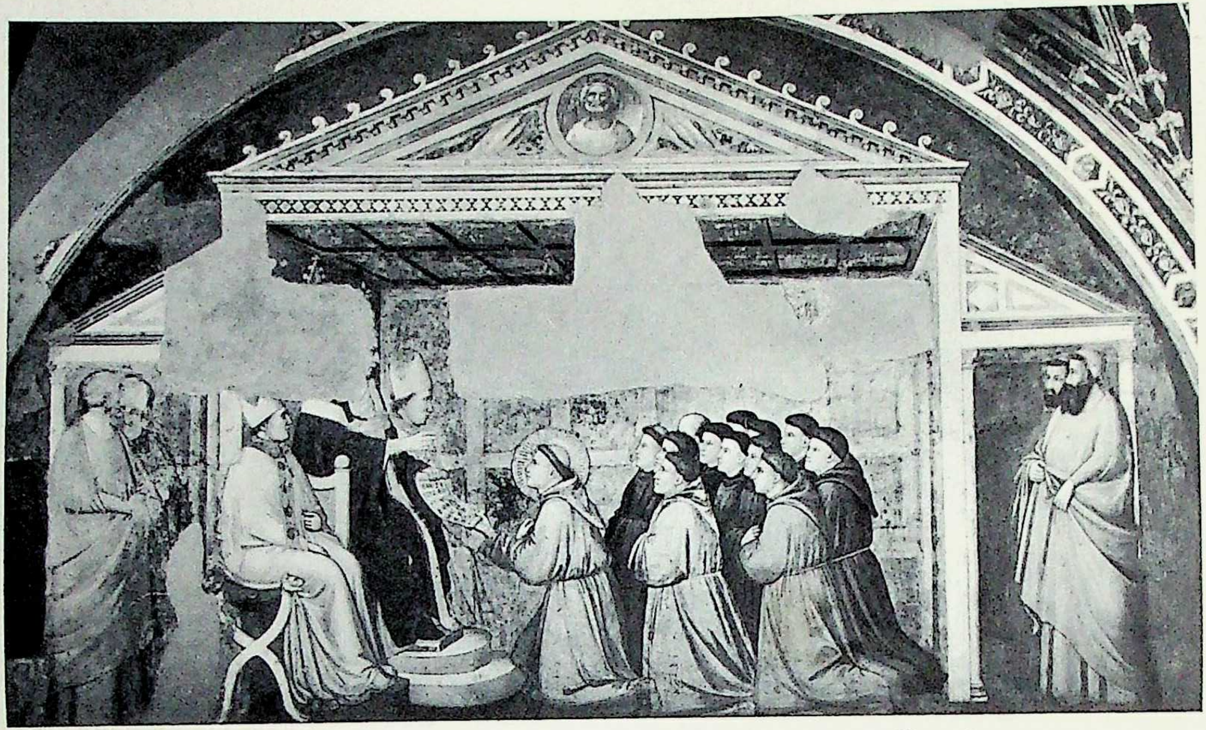

Plate 198. THE SANCTIONING OF THE RULE, Florence, Basilica of Santa Croce, Bardi Chapel

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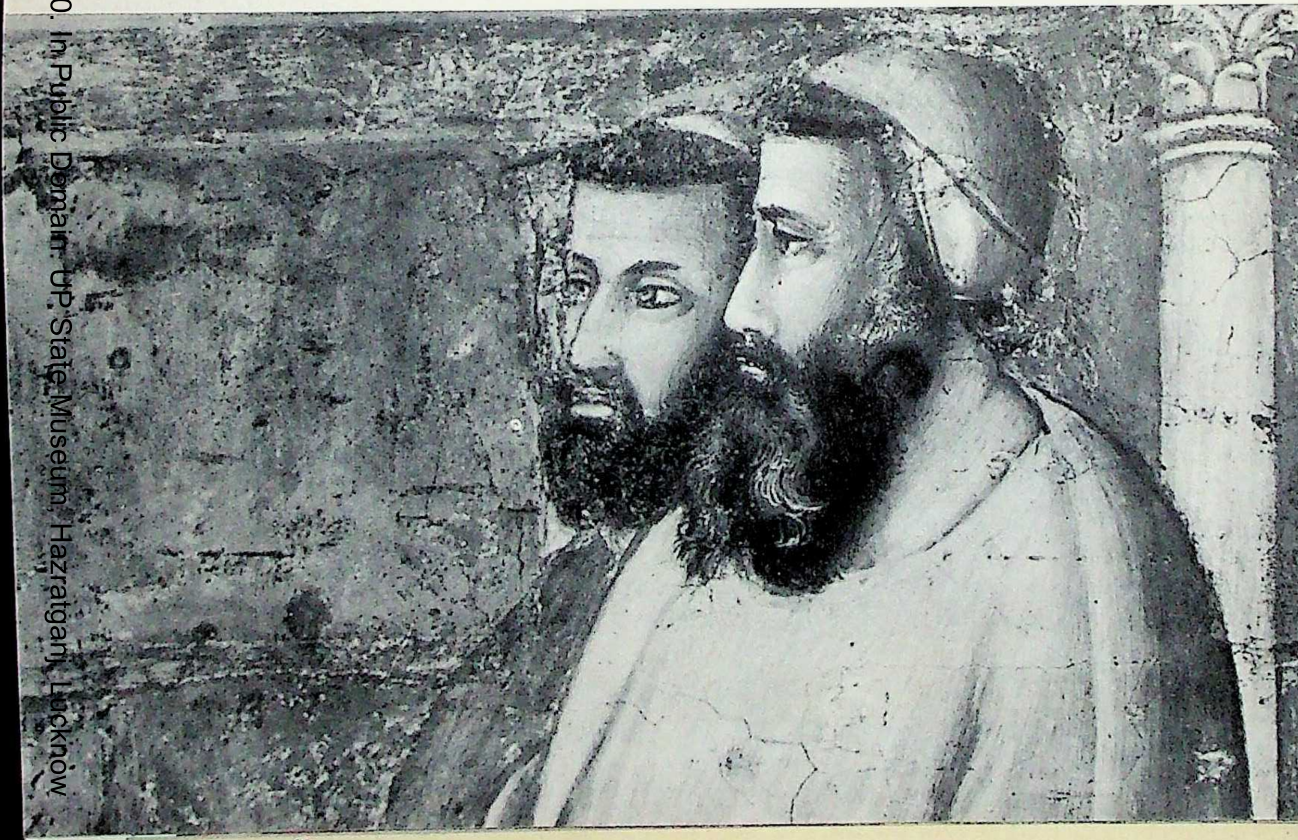
Plate 199. *Detail of plate 198*



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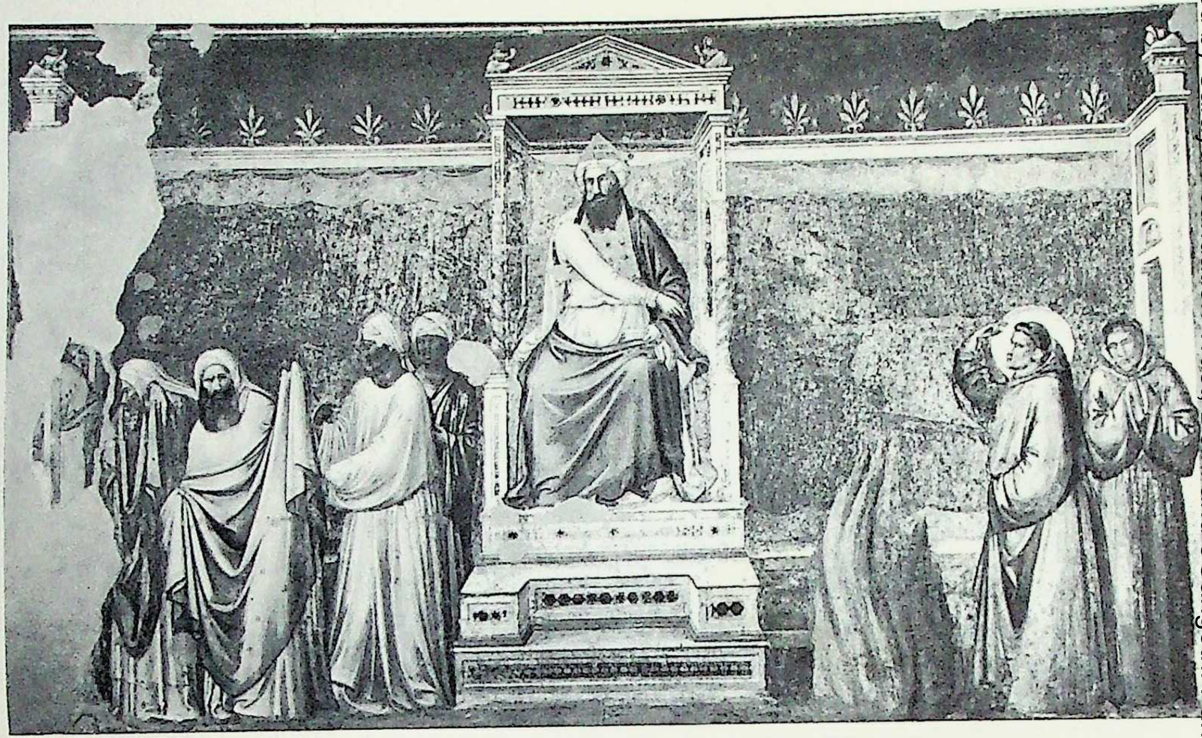

Plate 200. THE ORDEAL BY FIRE, Florence, Basilica of Santa Croce, Bardi Chapel

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Plate 201. *Detail of plate 200*

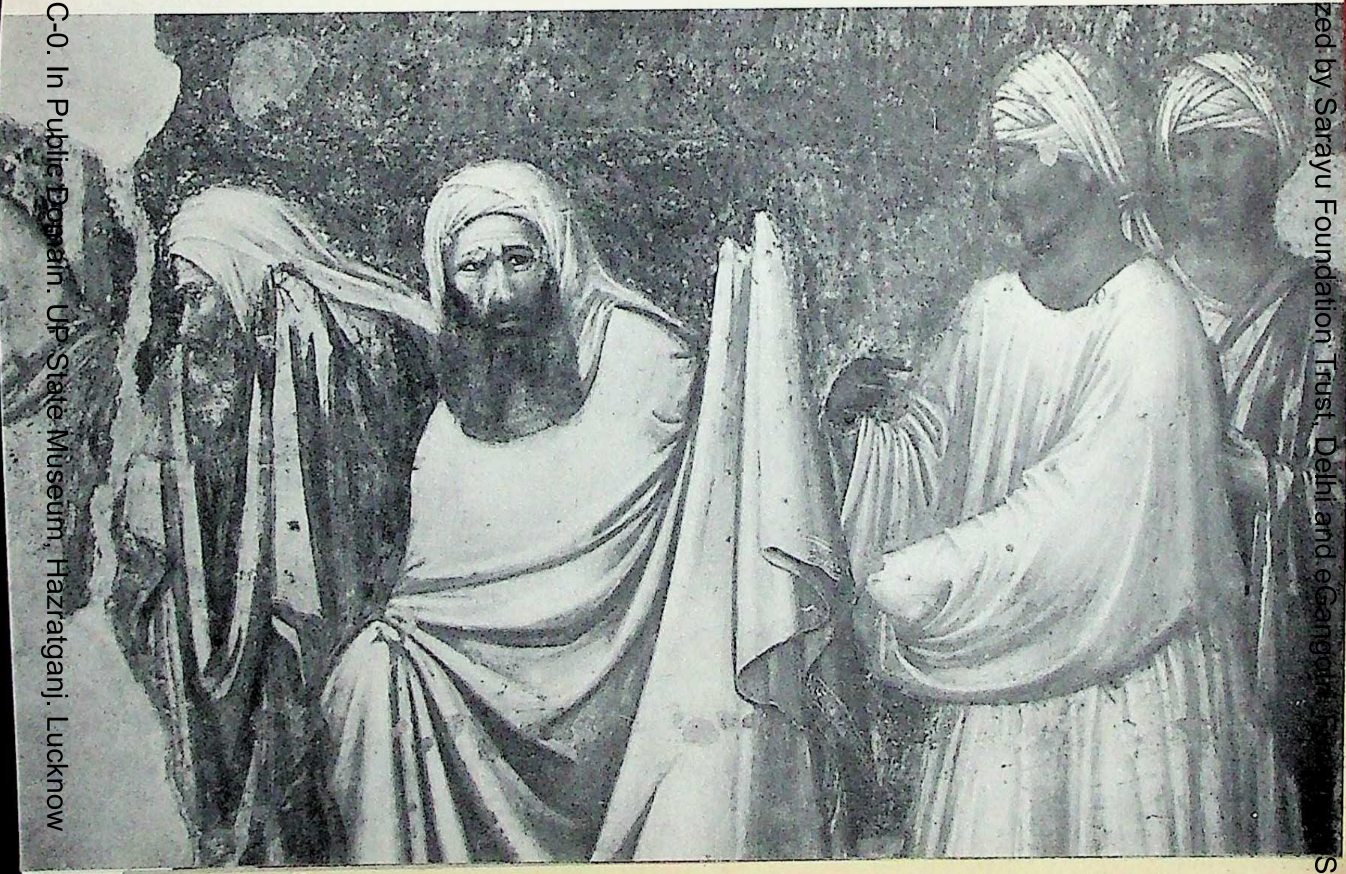

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Plate 199. *Detail of plate 200*

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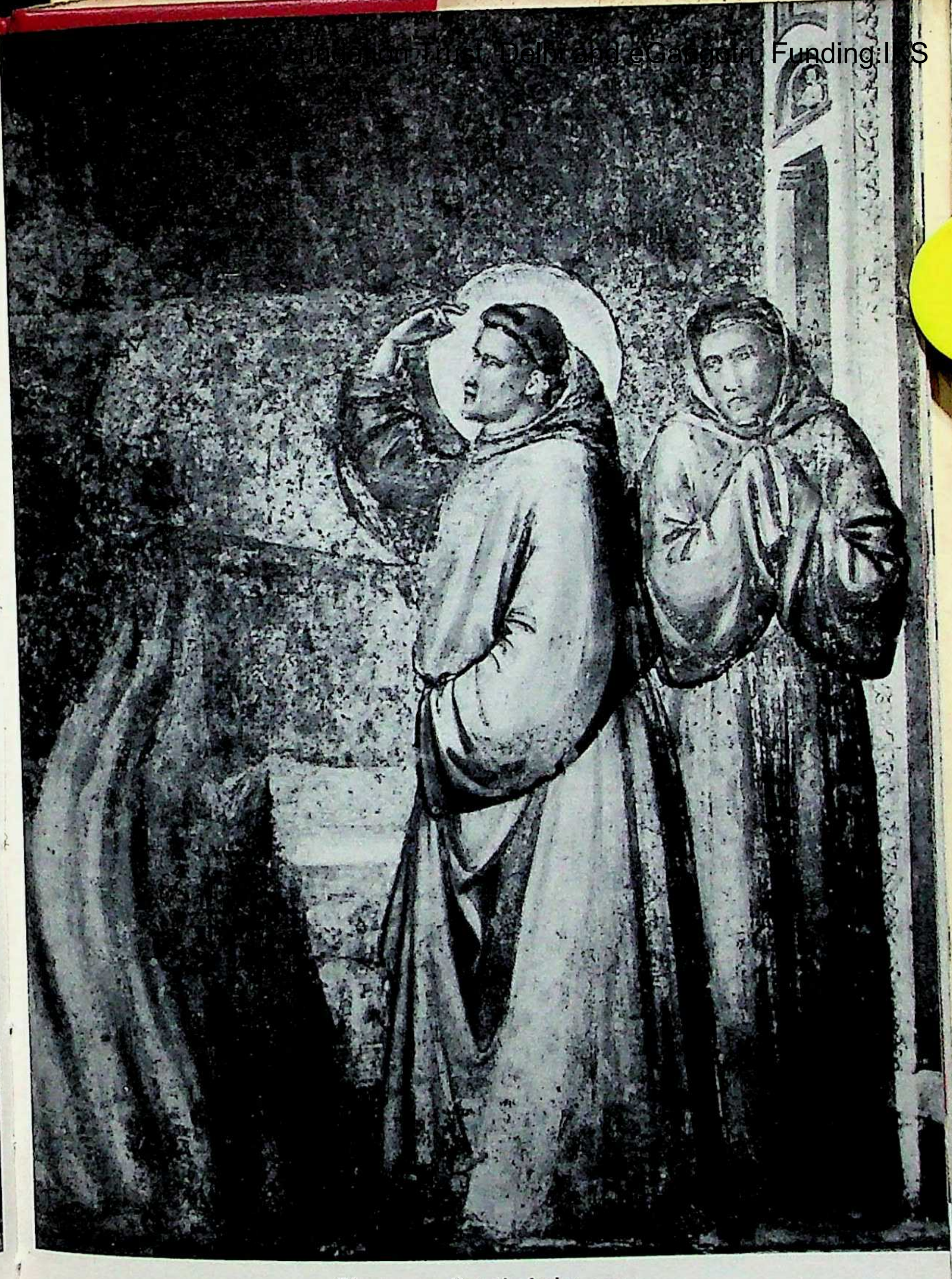

Plate 20[illegible]. *Detail of plate 200*

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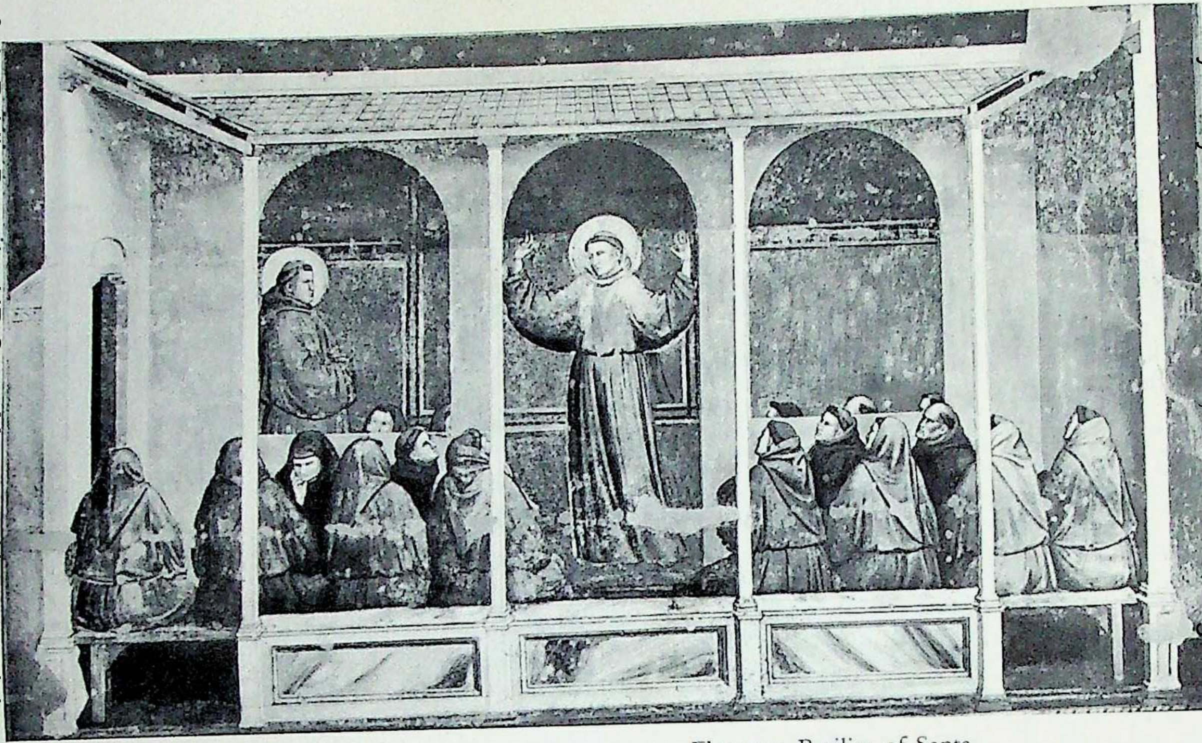

Plate 204. THE APPARITION AT ARLES, Florence, Basilica of Santa Croce, Bardi Chapel

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Plate 205. *Detail of plate 204*

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Plate 207. *Detail of plate 204*

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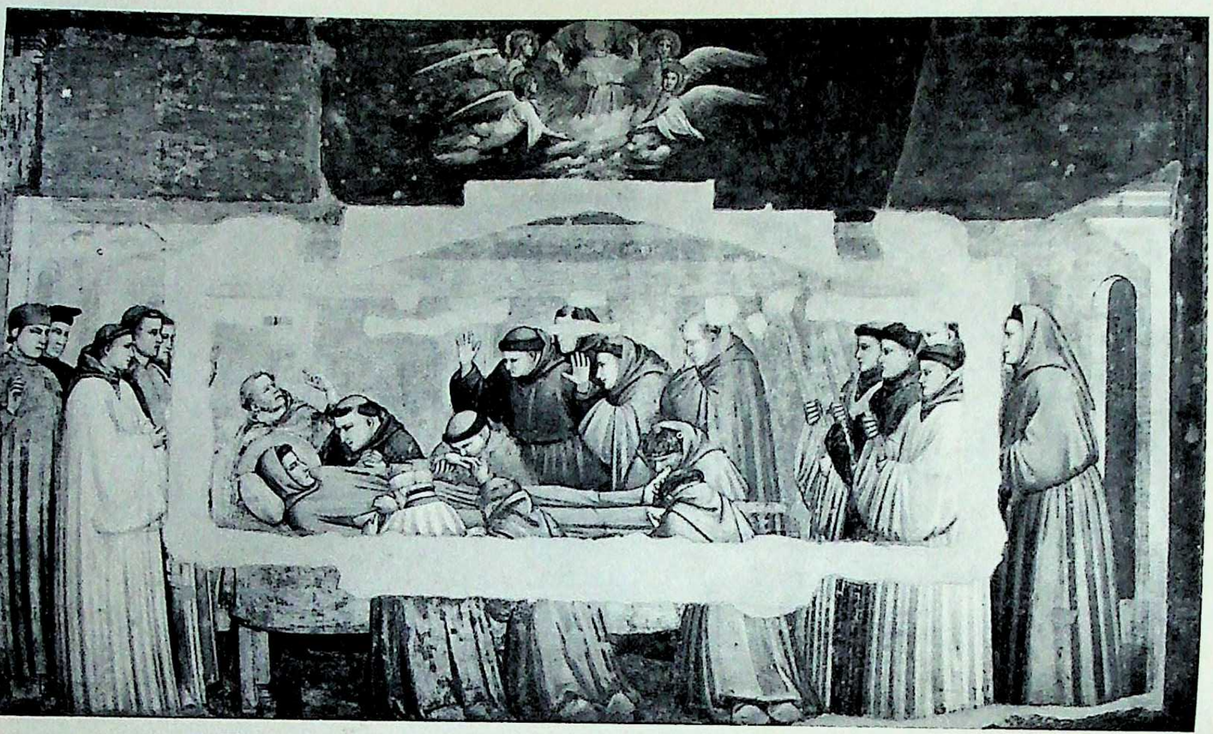

Plate 208. THE DEATH OF ST FRANCIS, Florence, Basilica of Santa Croce, Bardi Chapel

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ST STEPHEN
Florence, Horne Museum
(Detail of plate [illegible])

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Plate 209. *Detail of plate 208*

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Plate 209. *Detail of plate 208*

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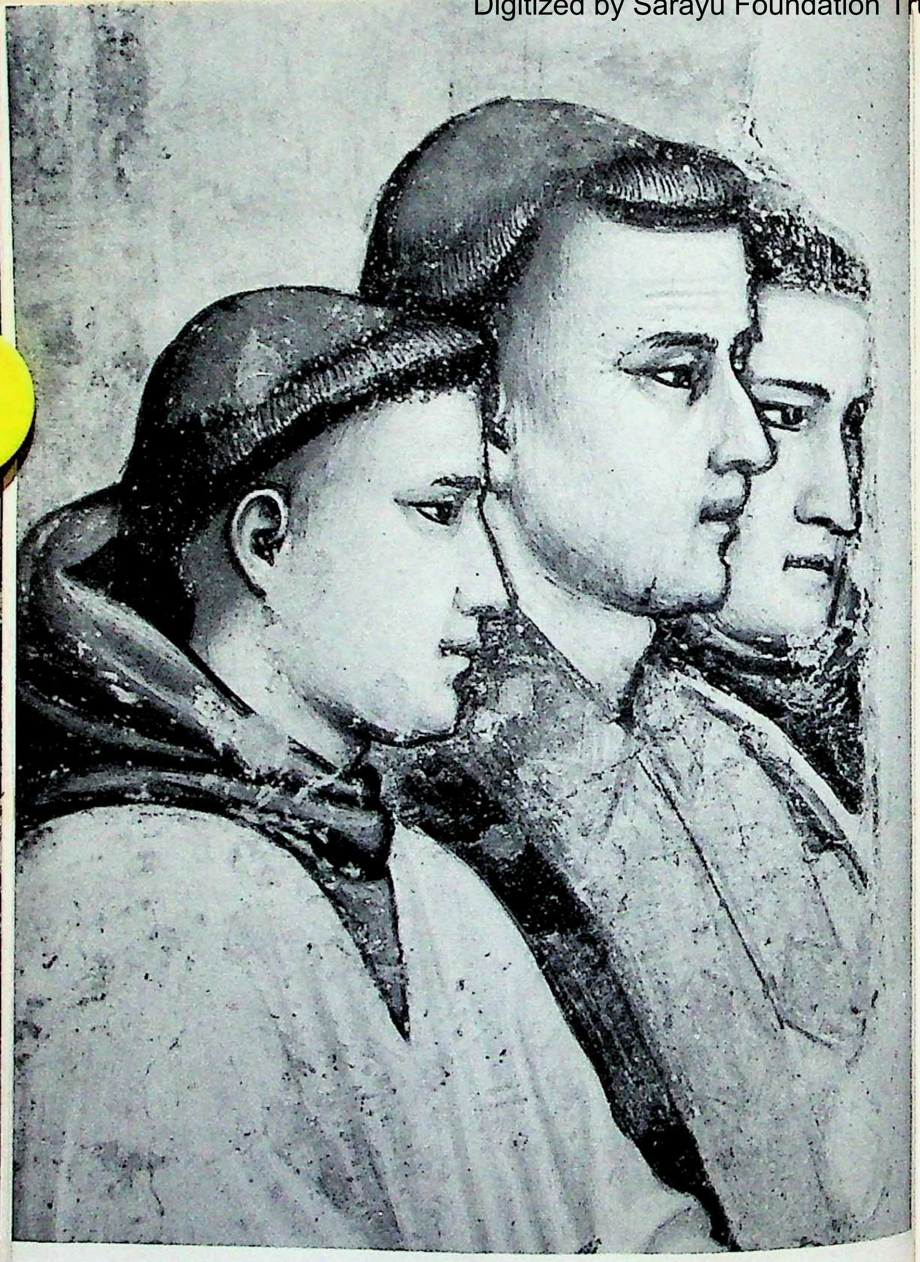

Plate 210. *Detail of plate 208*

Plate 211. *Detail of plate 208*

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Plate 212. THE APPARITIONS TO THE BISHOP AND TO FRIAR AUGUSTINE, Florence, Basilica of Santa Croce, Bardi Chapel

Plate 213. *Detail of plate 212*

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Plate 213. *Detail of plate 212*

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Plate 214. *Detail of plate 212*

Plate 2

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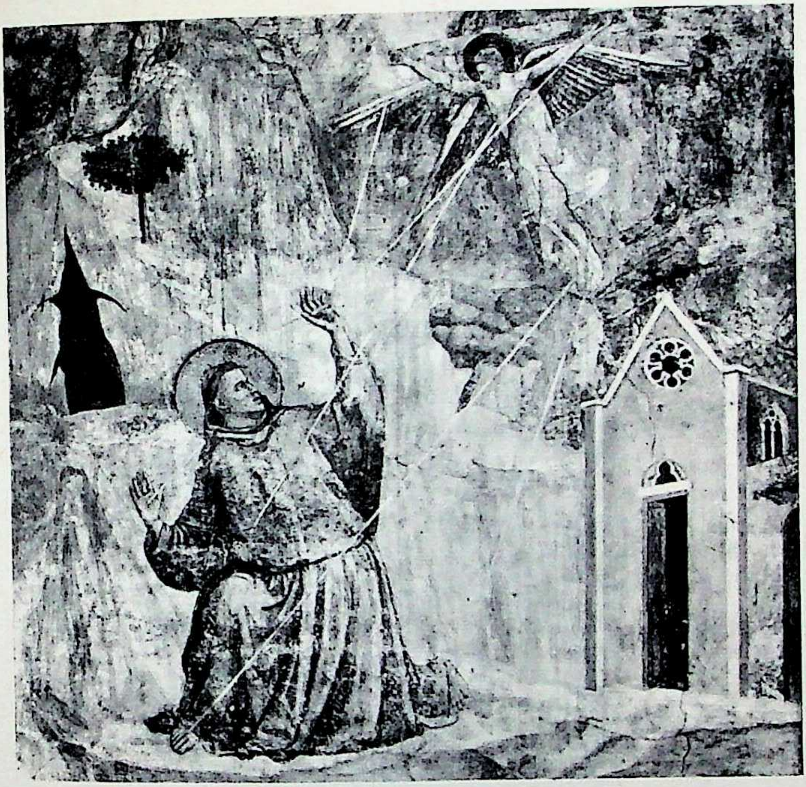

Plate 215. ST FRANCIS RECEIVING THE STIGMATA, Florence, Basilica of Santa Croce, Bardi Chapel

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Plate 216. ST CLARE, Florence, Basilica of Santa Croce, Bardi Chapel

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Plate 217. ST LUDOVIC OF TOULOUSE, Florence, Basilica of Santa Croce, Bardi Chapel

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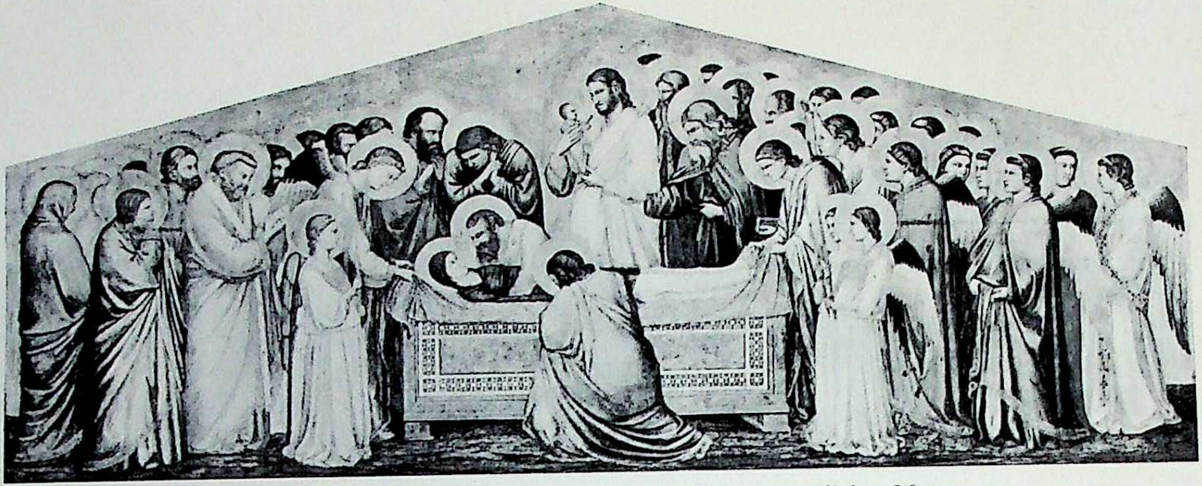

Plate 218. THE DEATH OF THE VIRGIN, Berlin, Staatliches Museen

*Plate 219. Detail of plate 218*

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Plate 219. *Detail of plate 218*

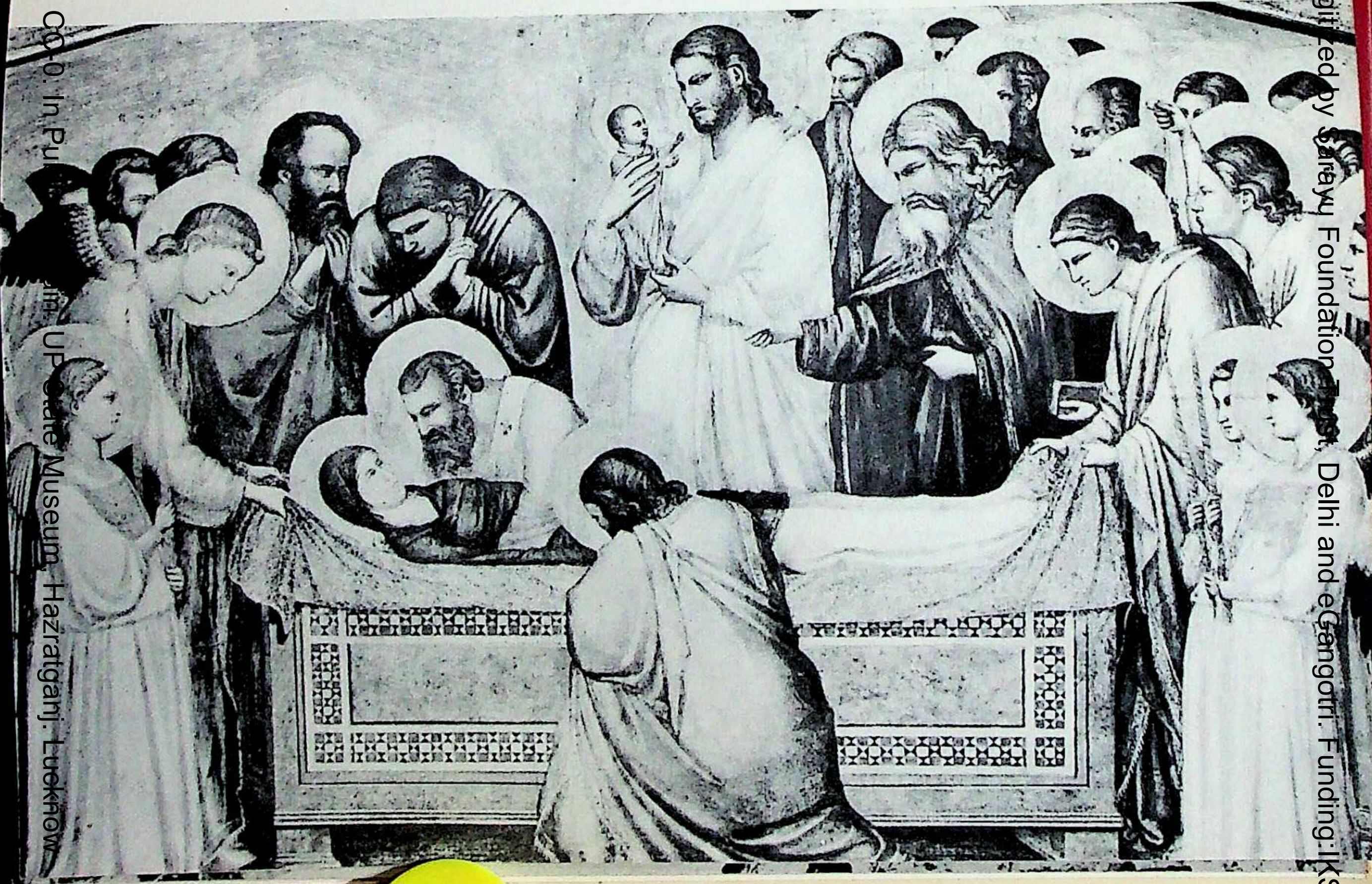

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Plate 220. *Detail of plate 218*

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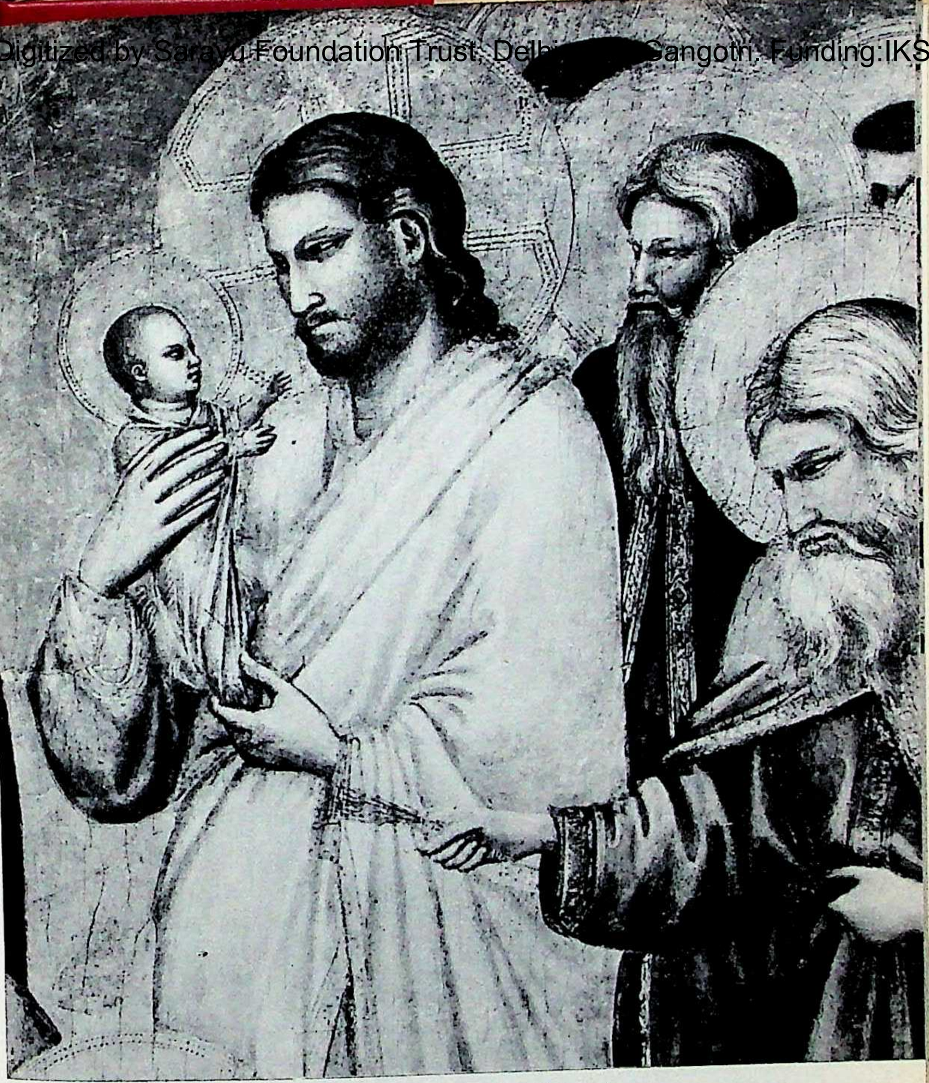

Plate 221. *Detail of plate 218*

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Plate 222. ST STEPHEN, Florence, Horne Museum

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Plate 223. MADONNA AND CHILD, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art

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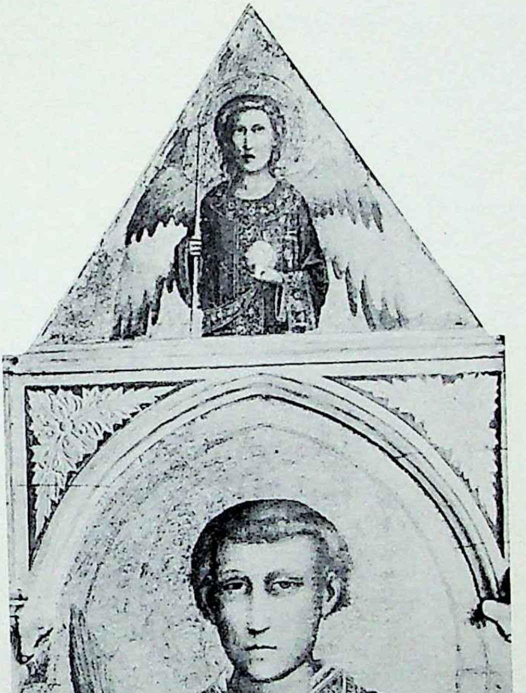

Plate 225. ST LAWRENCE, Châalis, Musée Jacquemart-André

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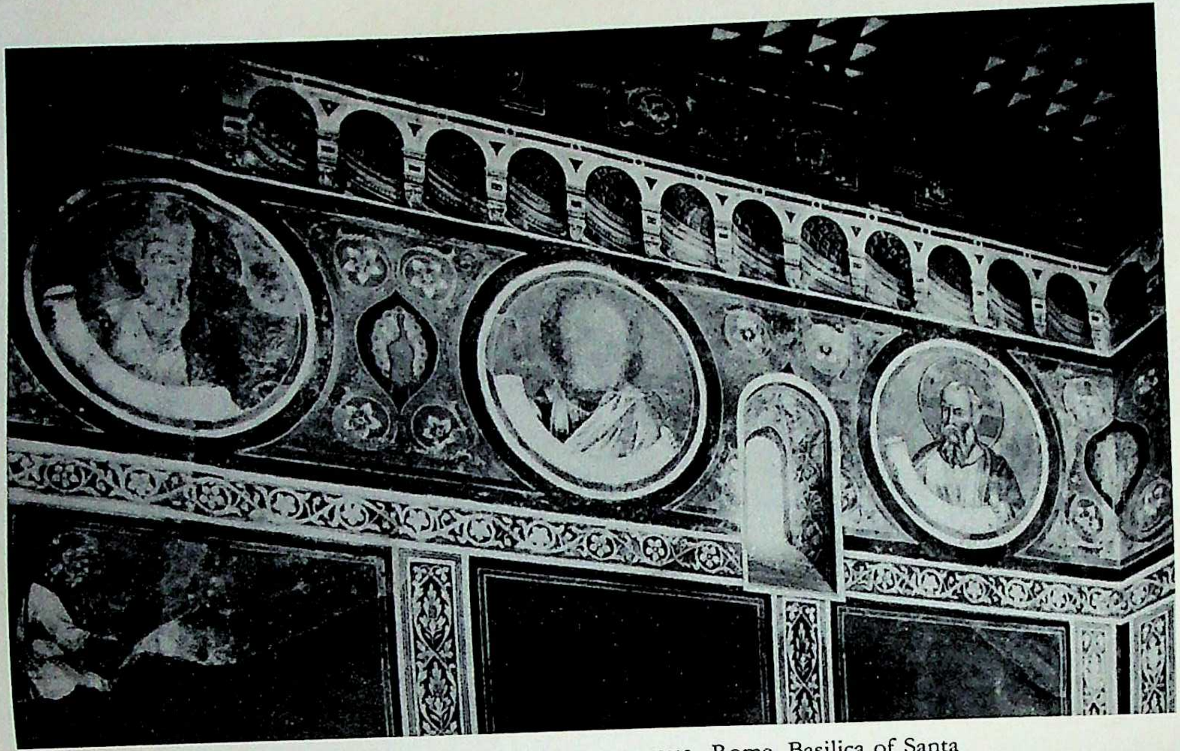

Plate 226. MEDALLIONS WITH PROPHETS, Rome, Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore (*attrib.*)

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Plate 226. MEDALLION ... Santa
Maria Maggiore (attrib.)

Plate 227. THE ETERNAL FATHER IN THE ACT OF BLESSING,
Rome, Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore (*attrib.*)

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Plate 228. MEDALLIONS WITH PROPHETS, Rome, Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore (*attrib.*)

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Plate 229. MEDALLIONS WITH PROPHETS, Rome, Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore (*attrib.*)

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Plate 230. THE ASCENSION, Assisi, Upper Church of San Francesco (*attrib.*)

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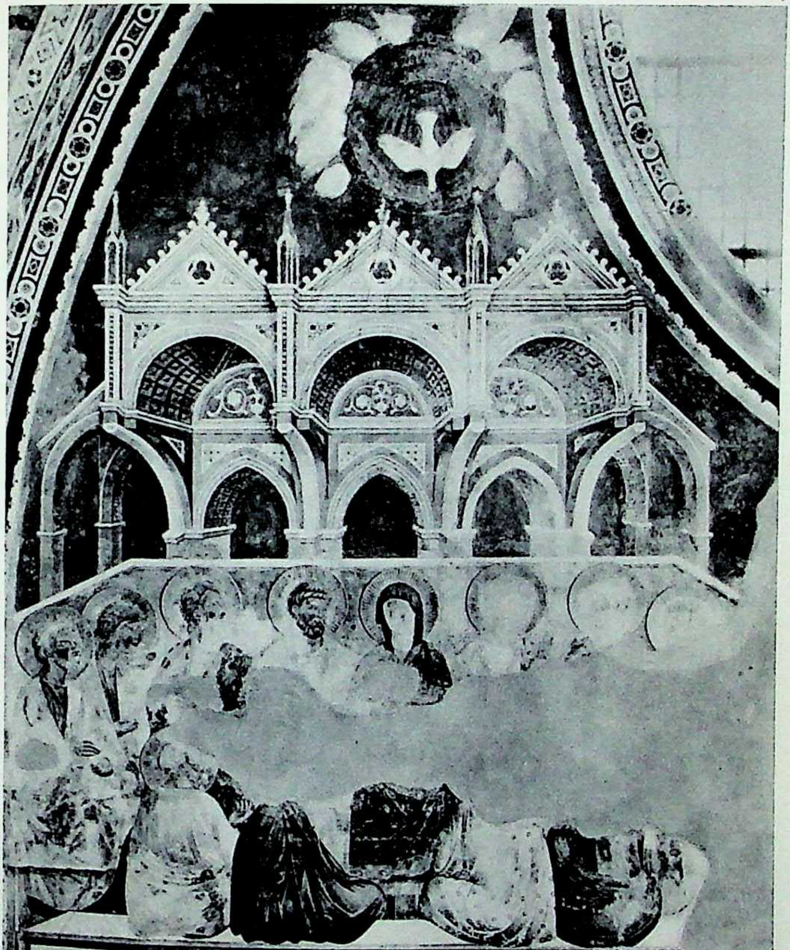

Plate 231. THE PENTECOST, Assisi, Upper Church of San Francesco (*attrib.*)

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Plate 232. MEDALLION WITH HEAD OF ST PETER, Assisi, Upper Church of San Francesco (*attrib.*)

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Plate 233. MEDALLION WITH HEAD OF ST PAUL, Assisi, Upper Church of San Francesco (*attrib.*)

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Plate 234. A FRANCISCAN SAINT, Florence, Berenson Collection (*attrib.*)

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Plate 235. STORIES OF MARY MAGDALEN, Assisi, Lower Church of San Francesco (attrib.)

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Plate 236. STORIES OF MARY MAGDALEN, Assisi, Lower Church of San Francesco (*attrib.*)

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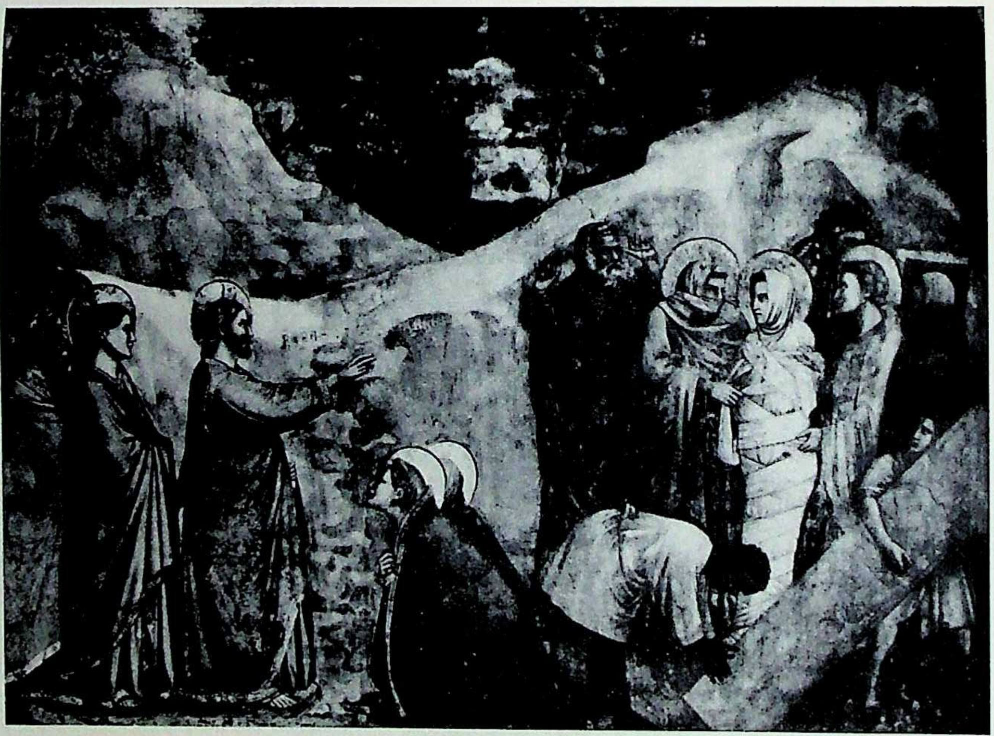

Plate 237. STORIES OF MARY MAGDALEN, Assisi, Lower Church of San Francesco (*attrib.*)

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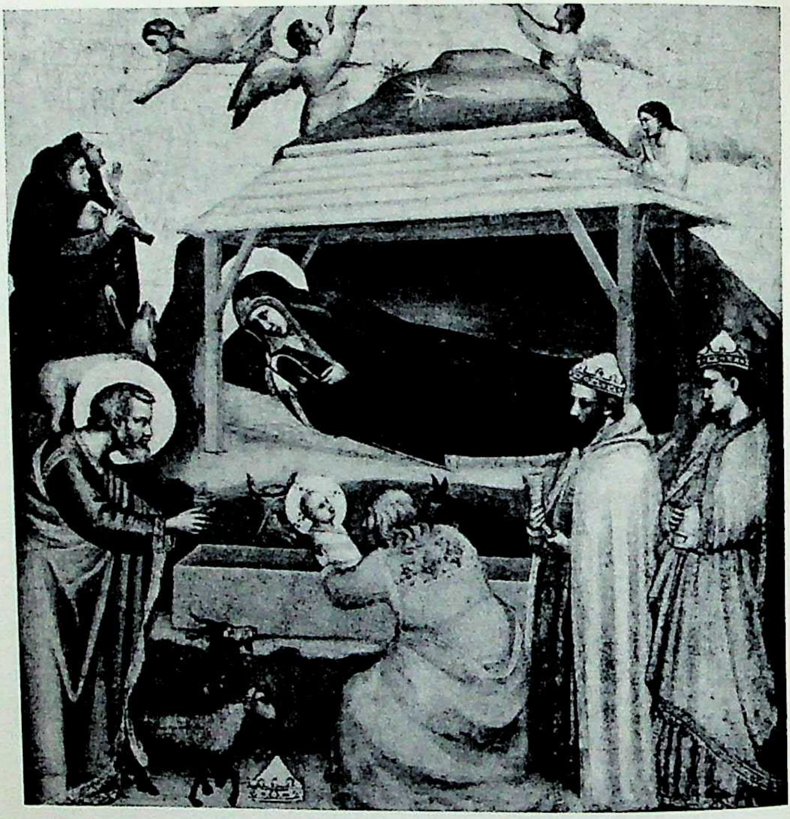

Plate 238. THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (*attrib.*)

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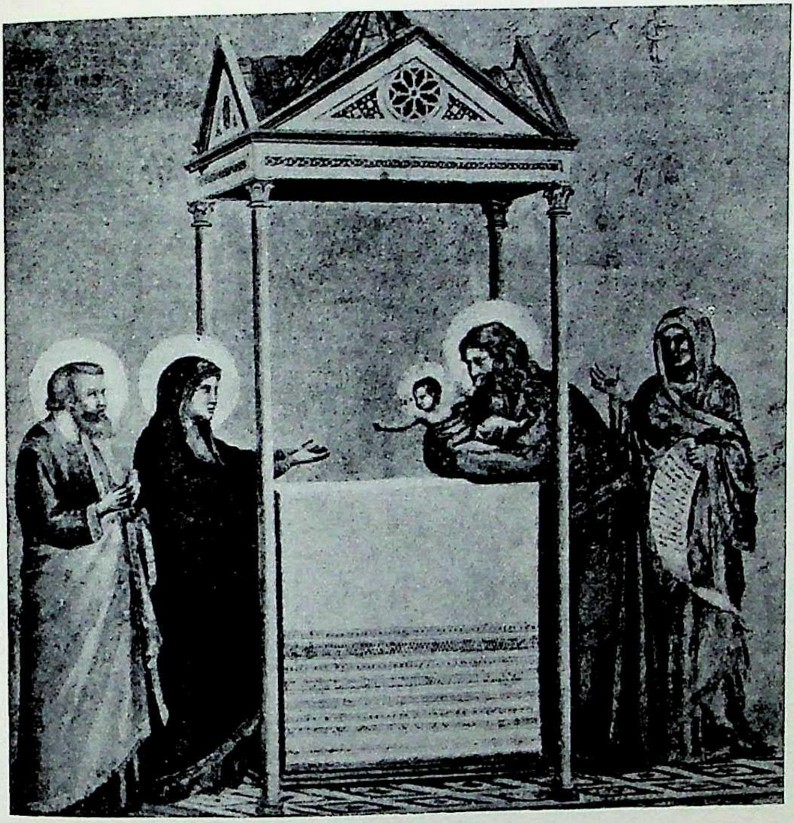

Plate 239. THE PRESENTATION OF CHRIST IN THE TEMPLE, Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Musem (*attrib.*)

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Place 240. THE LAST SUPPER, Munich, Alte Pinakothek (*attrib.*)

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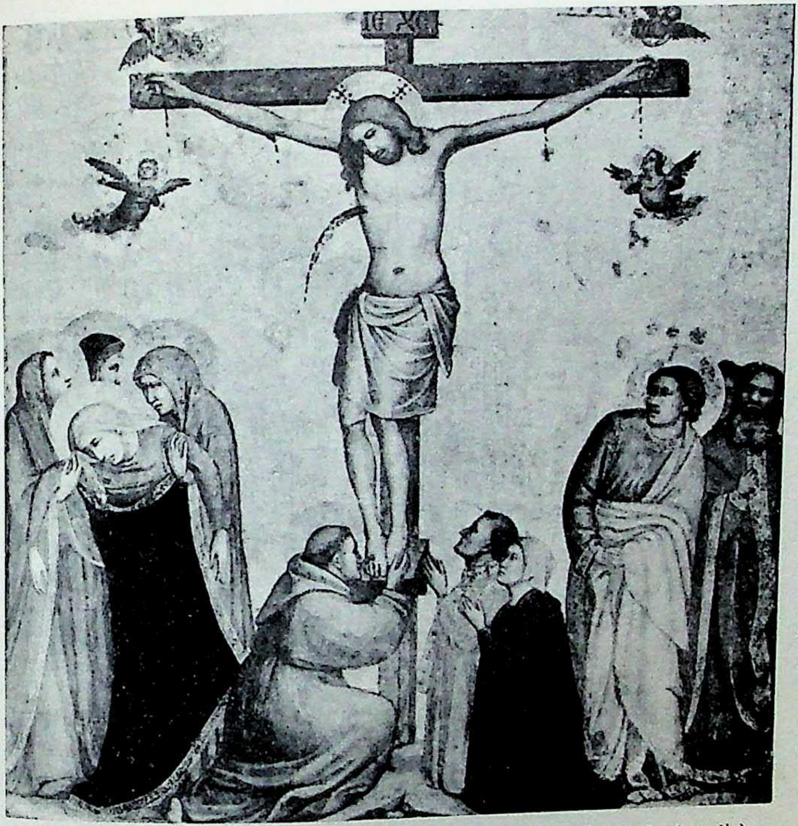

Plate 241. THE CRUCIFIXION, Munich, Alte Pinakothek (*attrib.*)

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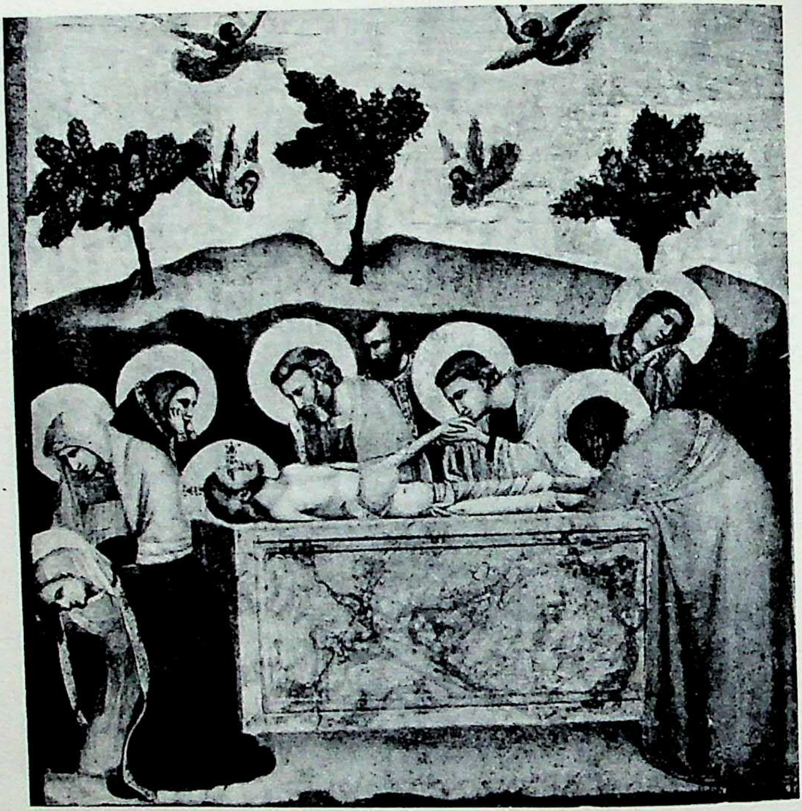

Plate 242. THE DEPOSITION, Florence, Berenson Collection (*attrib.*)

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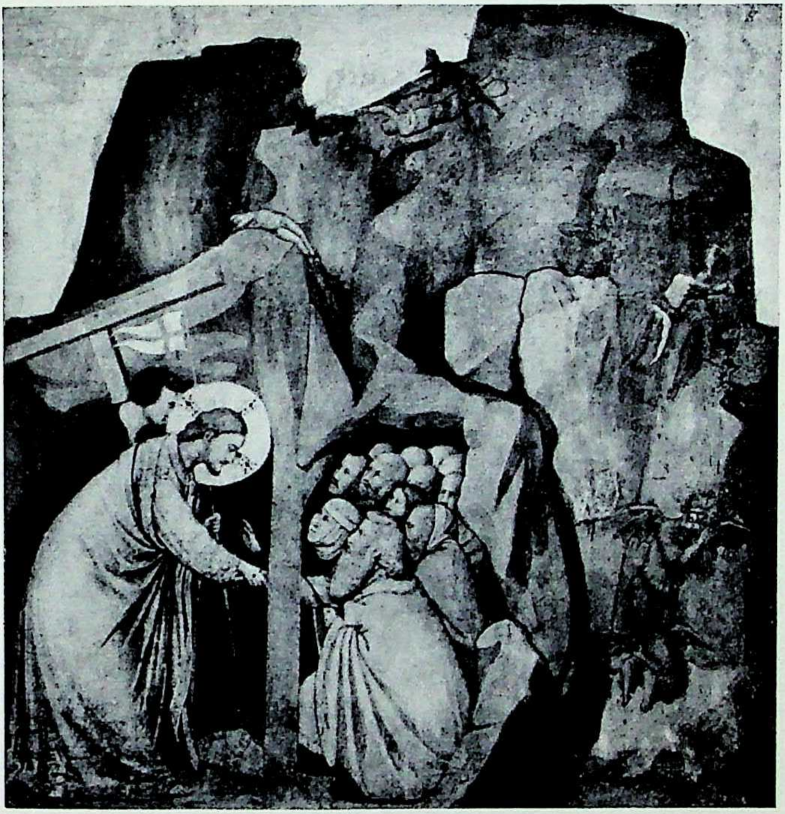

Plate 243. THE DESCENT TO LIMBO, Munich, Alte Pinakothek (*attrib.*)

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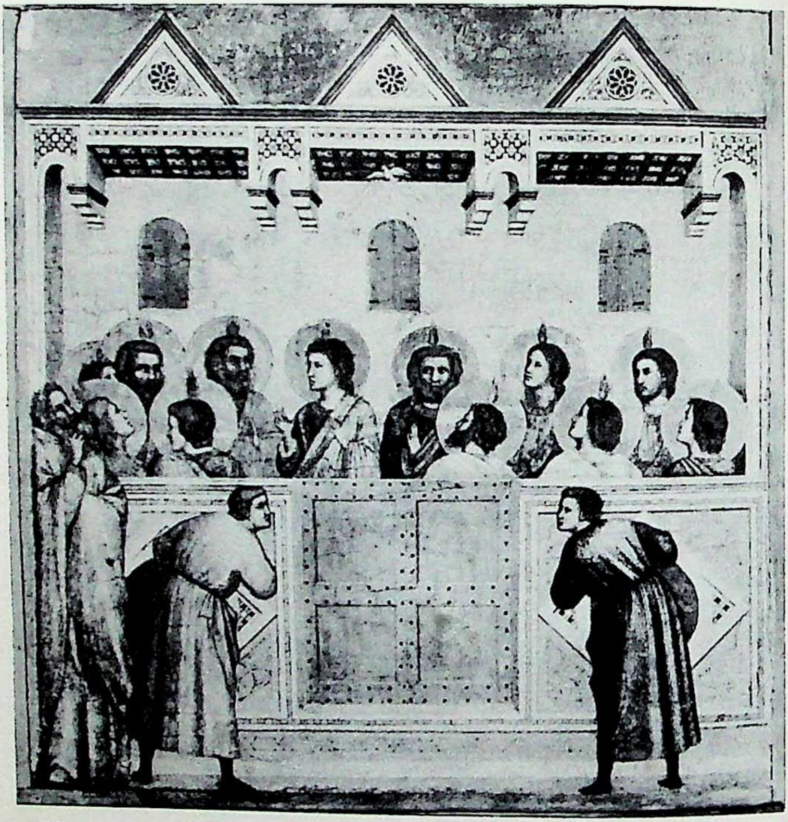

Plate 244. THE PENTECOST, London, National Gallery (*attrib.*)

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Plate 245. VIRGIN AND CHILD ENTHRONED WITH FOUR SAINTS,
Bologna, Pinacoteca (*attrib.*)

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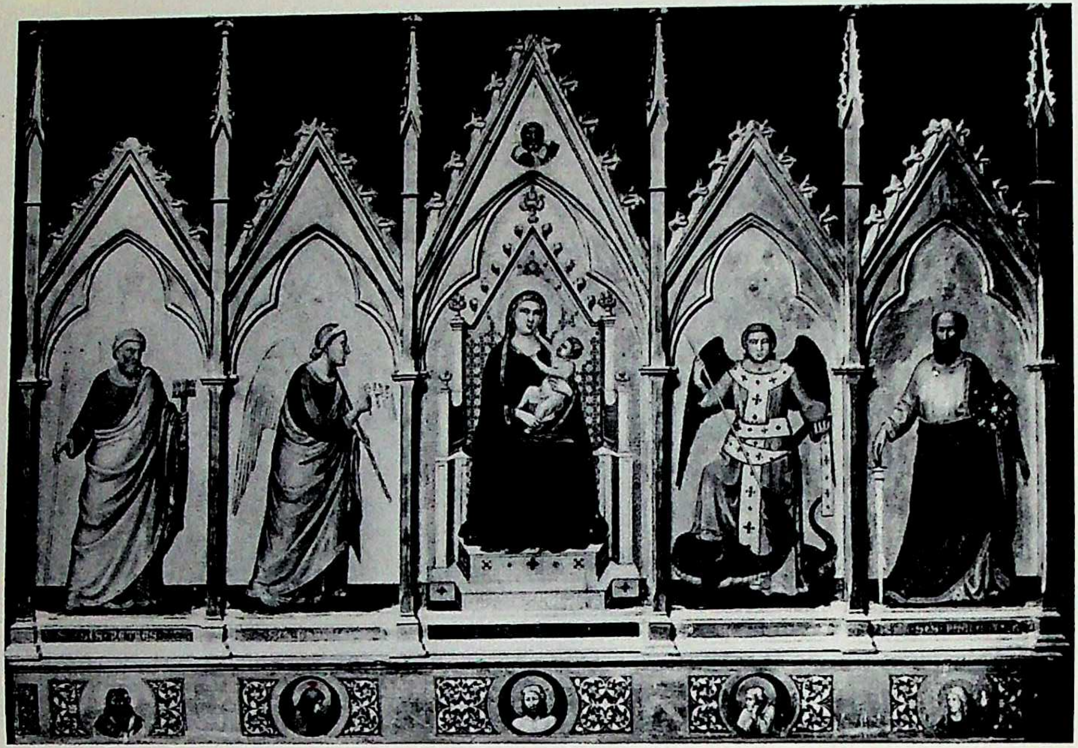

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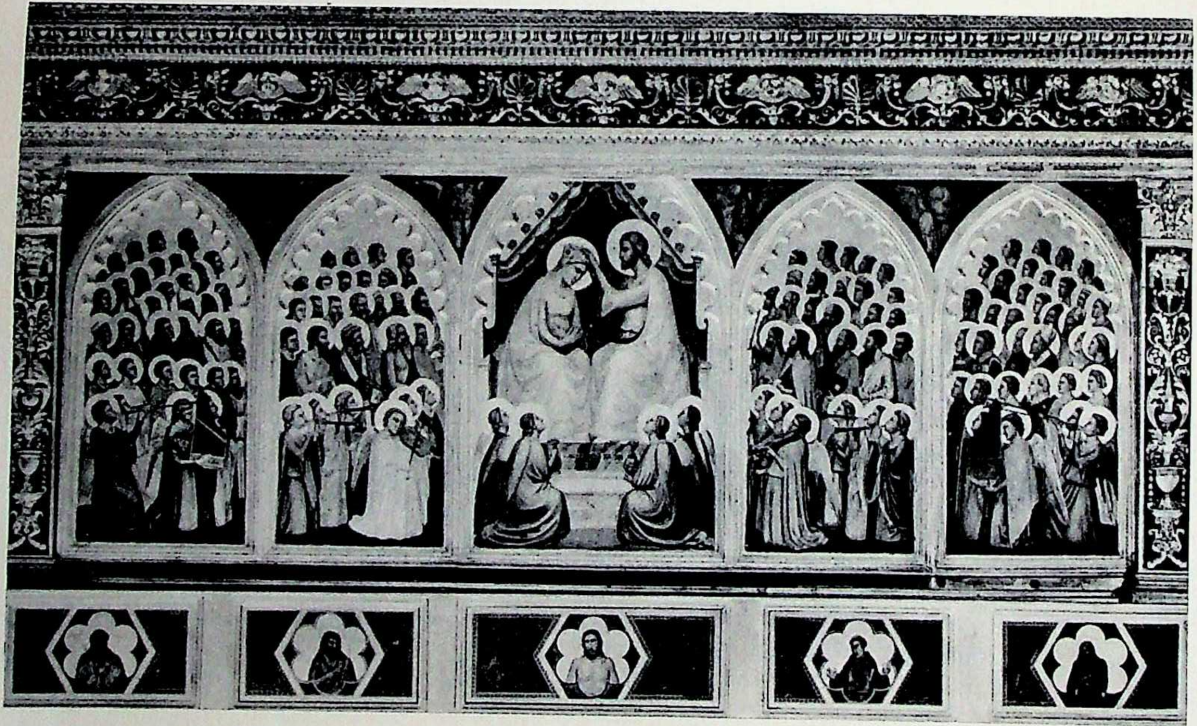

Plate 247. THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN, Florence, Basilica of Santa Croce (*attrib.*)

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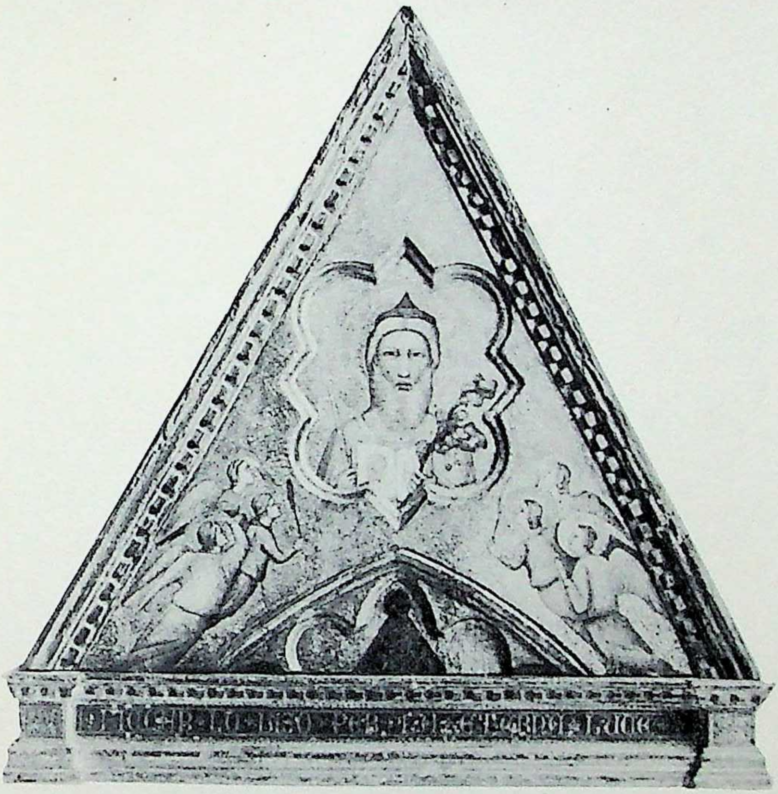

Plate 249. THE ETERNAL FATHER AND ANGELS, San Diego, California, Fine Arts Gallery (*attrib.*)

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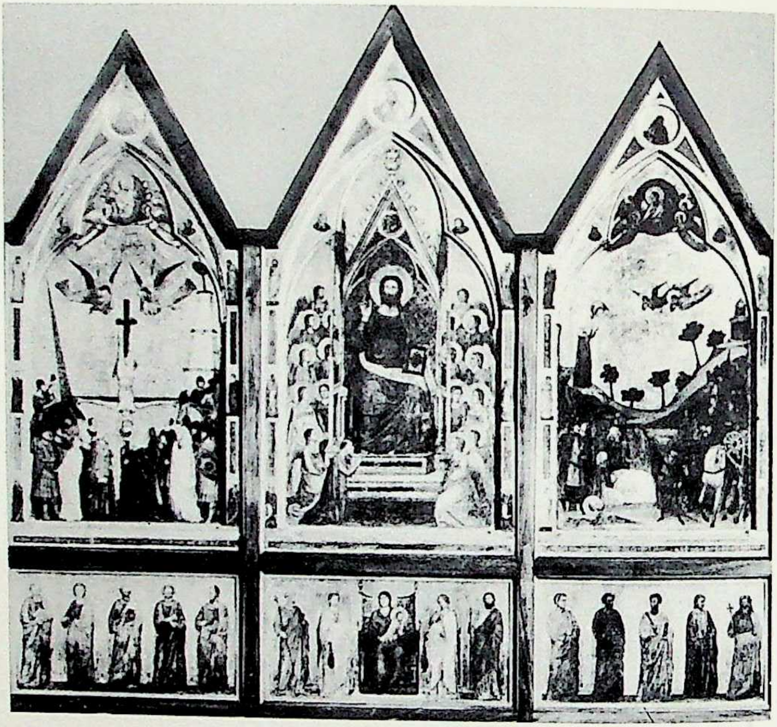

Plate 250. THE STEFANESCHI TRIPTYCH, Vatican City, Pinacoteca Vaticana (*attrib.*)

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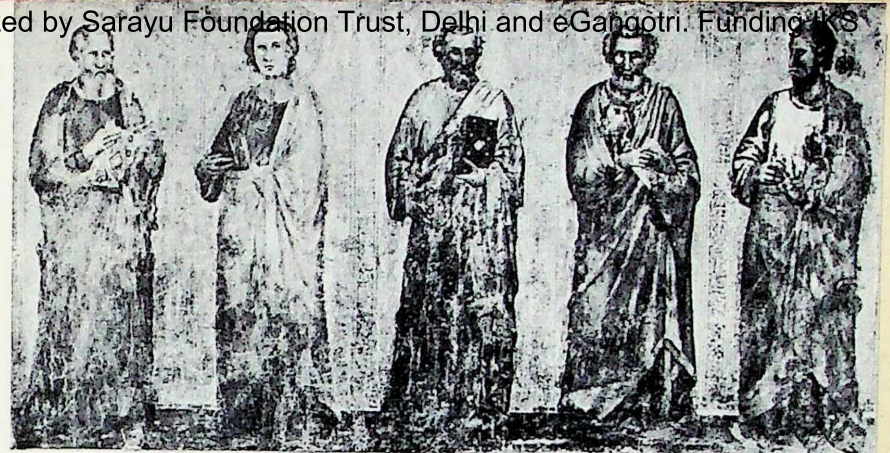
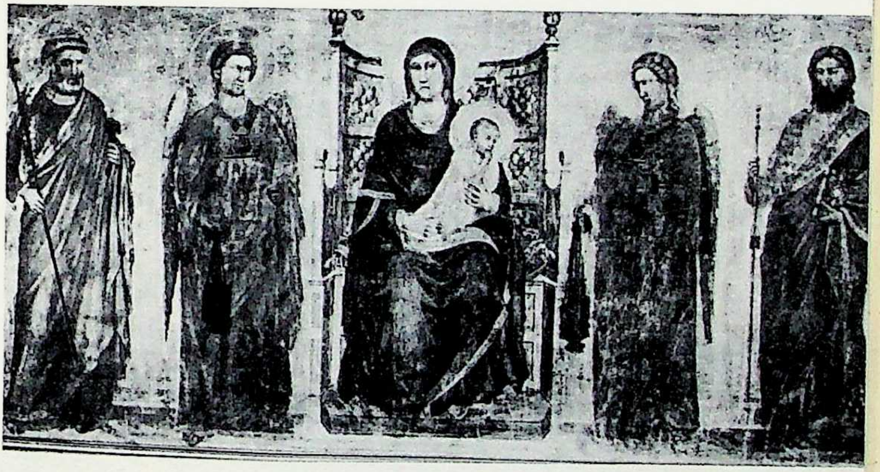


Plate 251. *Detail of plate 250*



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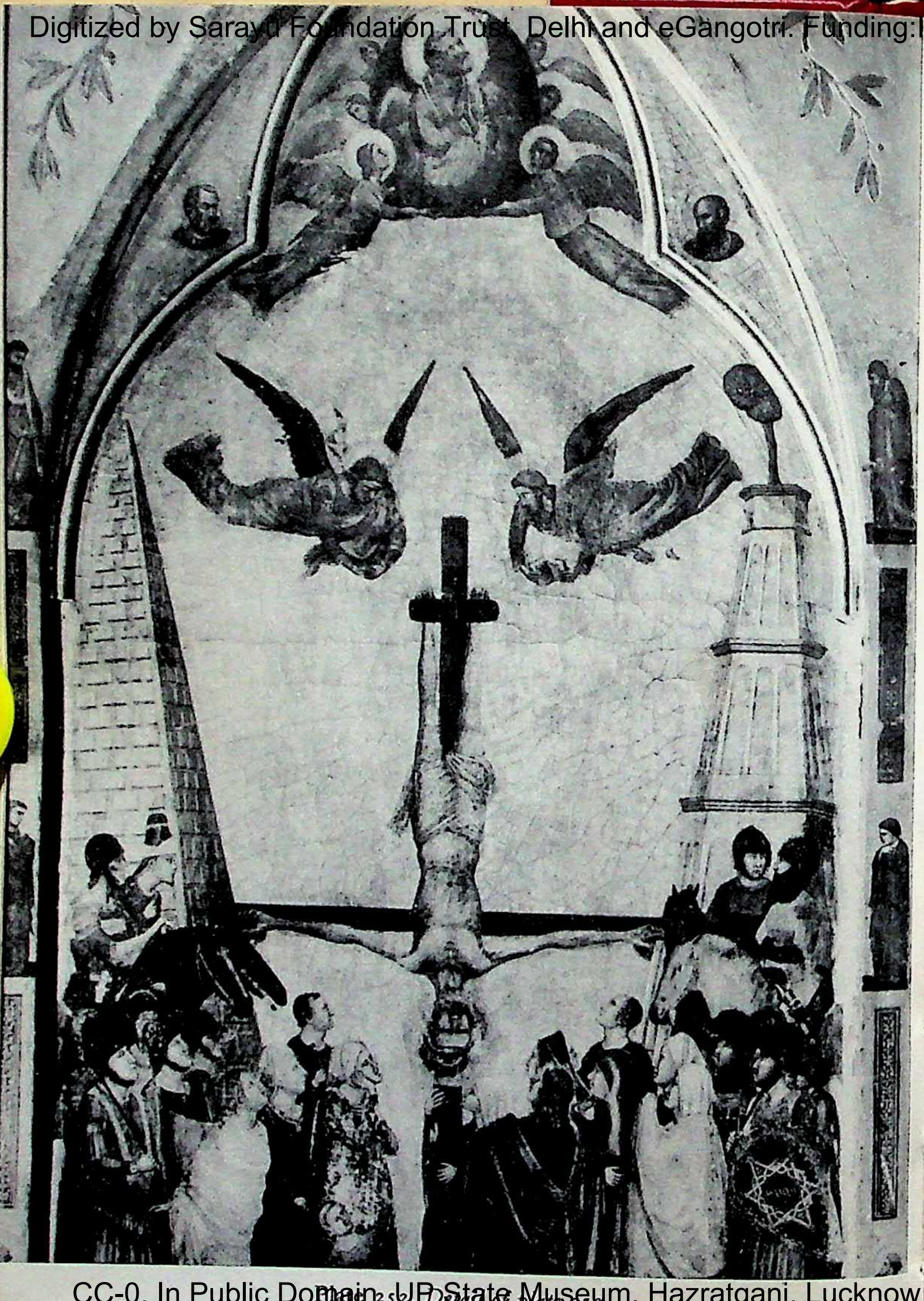

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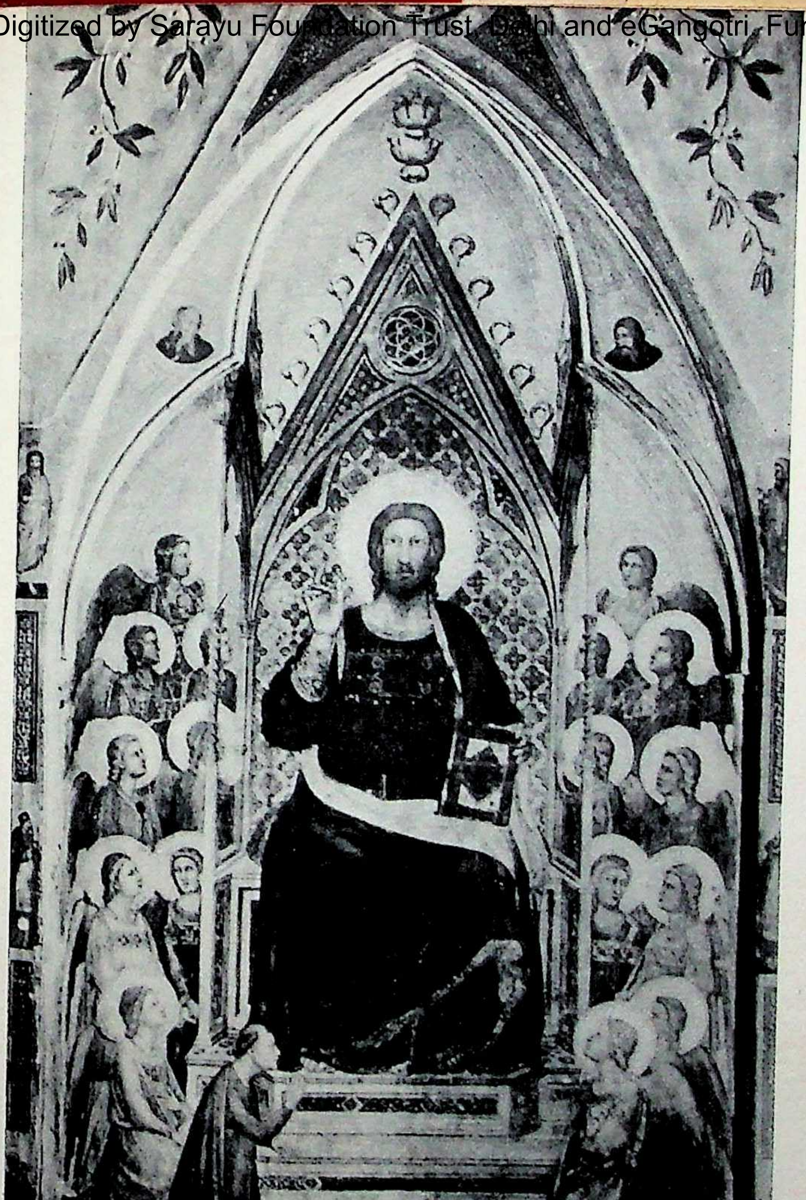

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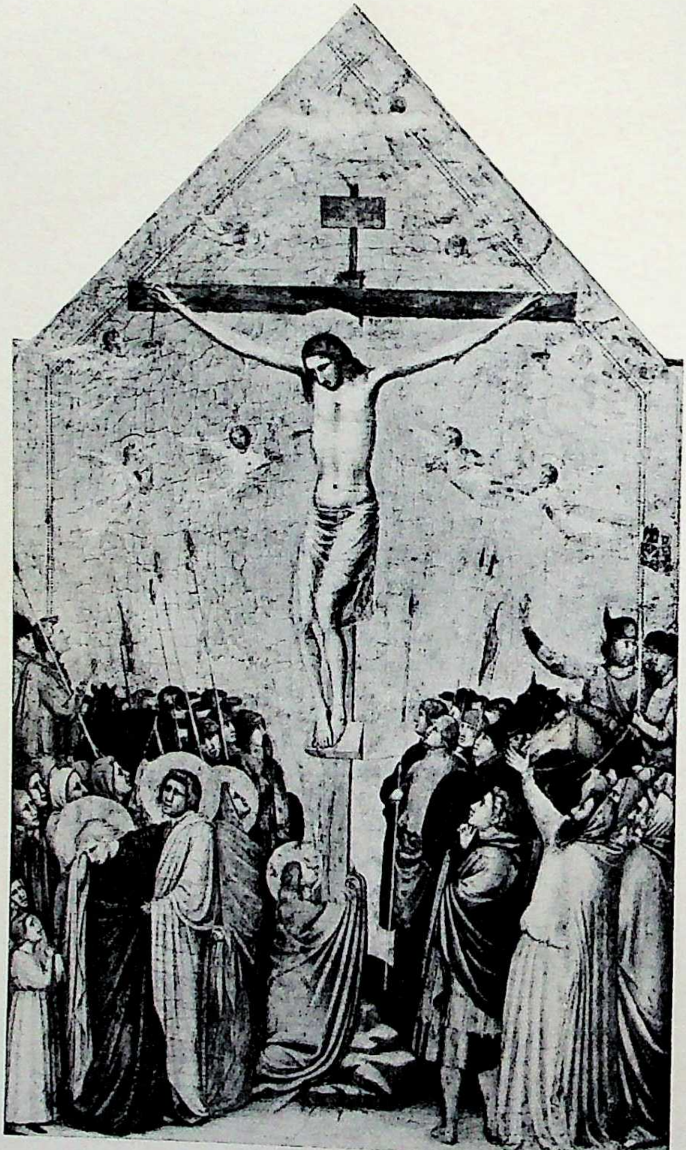

Plate 254. THE CRUCIFIXION, Berlin, Staatliches Museen (*attrib.*)

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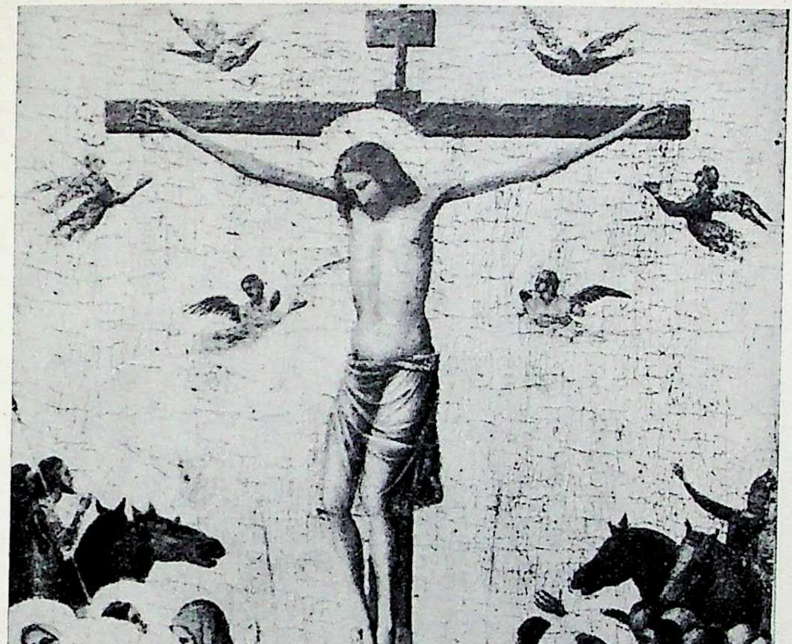

Plate 255. THE CRUCIFIXION, Strasbourg, Musées Municipaux (*attrib.*)

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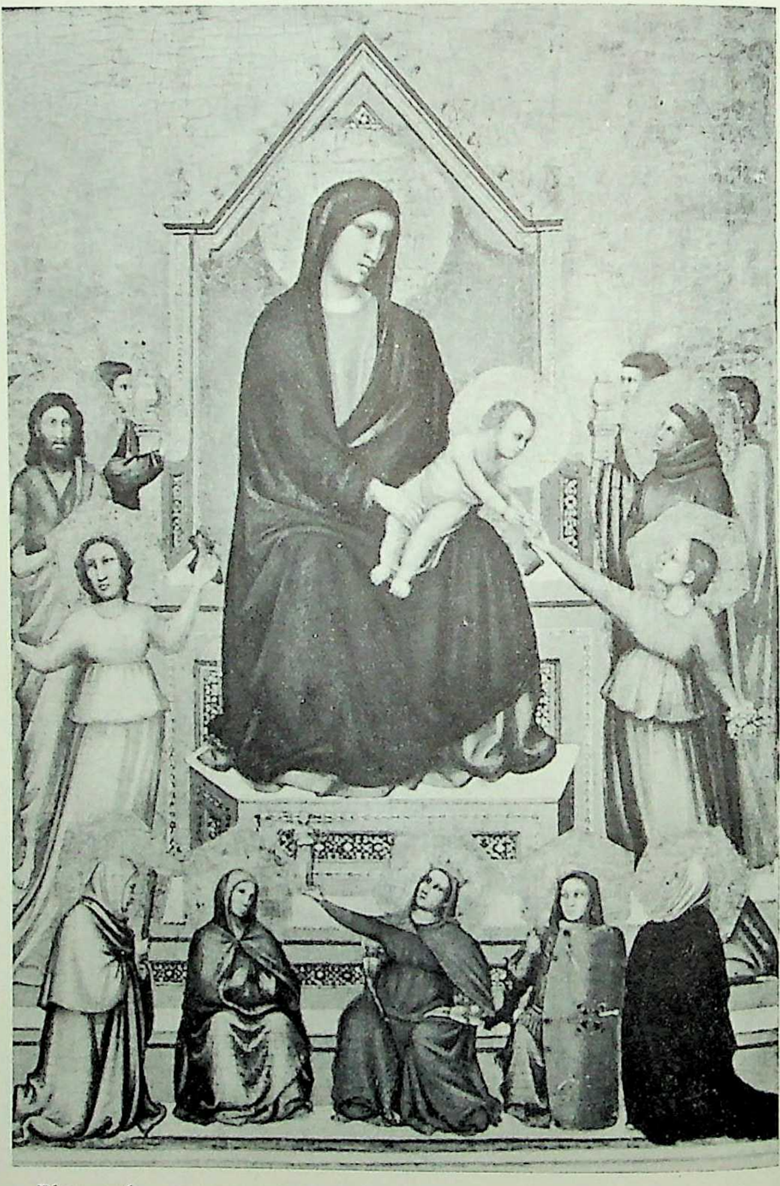

Plate 256. VIRGIN AND CHILD ENTHRONED WITH SAINTS AND VIRTUES, New York, Wildenstein Collection (attrib.)

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